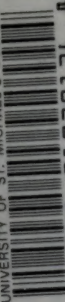


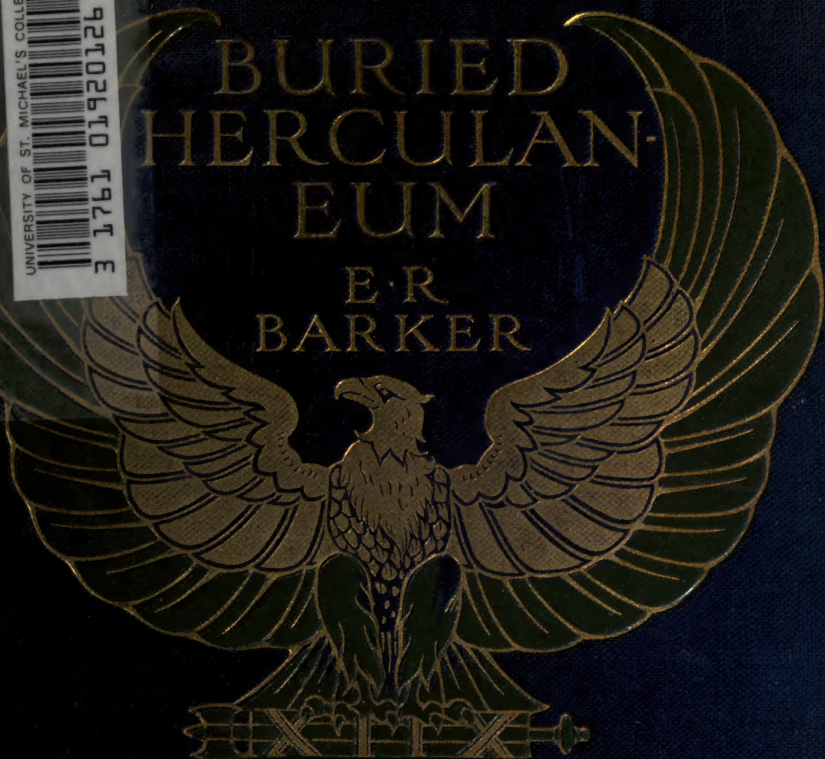
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# BURIED HERCULAN- EUM


E·R  
BARKER



Ernest A. Dale







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**BURIED  
HERCULANEUM**









*E. Alinari*

FIG. 1. APOLLO

# BURIED HERCULANEUM

BY

ETHEL ROSS BARKER



WITH NINE PLANS AND SIXTY-FOUR  
ILLUSTRATIONS

LONDON

ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK

1908



JUN 9 1954

Hic est pampineis viridis modo Vesbius umbris :  
Presserat hic madidos nobilis uva lacus.  
Haec juga quam Nysae colles plus Bacchus amavit :  
Hoc nuper Satyri monte dedere choros.  
Haec Veneris sedes, Lacedæmone gratior illi :  
Hic locus Herculeo nomine clarus erat.  
Cuncta jacent flammis et tristi mersa favilla :  
Nec superi vellent hoc licuisse sibi.

MARTIAL IV. 44



## PREFACE

THE aim of this book is to give an account of past excavations at Herculaneum ; to describe, as they once were, those buildings that have been stripped of their treasures, left in ruins and reburied ; and to connect with the buildings where they originally stood, the bronzes and marbles now in the Museum at Naples.

The supreme interest of Herculaneum lies in the unique bronzes found there. This subject has been treated at some length, and an attempt made to assign the sculptures to their epochs and to identify them in the light of the most recent criticism. I have retained the old false ascriptions, as being familiar, for purposes of identification and sometimes added in brackets what would seem to be more correct names.

A classified bibliography, including all works of any importance on the subject, from contemporary journals to the latest German monograph, has

been added, together with catalogues of the works of art, numbered, for reference in the Museum.

There is no complete work on the story of Herculaneum existing, except in brief and often inaccurate accounts in some old Italian books.

In Ruggiero's fine collection of original authorities there is a useful introduction, and we have an exhaustive monograph by Comparetti and De Petra on the House of the Papyri, or, as the authors call it, "La Villa Ercolanese dei Pisoni." For the papyri we have Walter Scott's valuable *Fragmenta Herculanensia*.

At a moment when it seems possible that excavations will be again undertaken in Herculaneum, it may be useful to have a brief record of work there in the past, of the plan of a city well-nigh destroyed by its excavators, and of the matchless treasures its buildings yielded.

My grateful thanks are due to Professore Dall'Osso, Sovraintendente ai Musei e Scavi di Antichità delle Marche e degli Abruzzi, Direttore del R. Museo Archeologico delle Marche, for his great kindness in giving me the benefit of his expert knowledge on several points, and for permission to make use of his plan of the city (plan 2); to

Professore Comparetti, Senatore del Regno, and Professore De Petra for kind permission to reproduce the plan of the House of the Papyri (plan 7) from their great work on the Villa; and to the Rev. J. A. Nairn, D.Litt., Headmaster of Merchant Taylors School, for advice and encouragement. Also to Miss Marguerite Nicholson for invaluable and constant help in the revision of the book for press, to Miss L. de Alberti for assistance with the Spanish authorities, and to the Signora Mabel Gallotti for collecting information on the subject in current Italian journalism.

E. R. BARKER.

LONDON, 1908





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# BURIED HERCULANEUM

## CHAPTER I

### LIFE IN HERCULANEUM

Position—Buildings—Historic associations—Inhabitants—  
The overthrow

HERCULANEUM occupies a unique position in the history of buried cities. During a single century of excavation, after sixteen hundred years of unbroken darkness, human eyes have caught glimpses, and little more, of perhaps half the entire city. Save for a very small portion, this was immediately reburied, and so it has remained, for a century and a half, to the present day. During that century of work, amongst an untold mass of fragments of marble, mosaic, and fresco and bronzes, there were found entire over fifty large statues and as many busts, as well as innumerable statuettes and small objects. In an old print<sup>1</sup> is depicted the imaginary triumphal procession to Naples of the treasures of the buried city—equestrian statues,

<sup>1</sup> Saint-Non, *Voyage Pittoresque*.

busts, candelabra, &c., borne on litters, or drawn by teams of eight oxen. Of the buildings seen by the excavators we have accounts sufficiently clear to enable us to picture to ourselves something of the life in that elegant little Greek city set in the loveliest plain of Italy—the *Campania Felix*, as the ancients called it, “where,” as Pliny<sup>1</sup> says, “Nature herself took a delight in accumulating all her blessings upon one spot.”

The east side of the plain, for twenty-eight miles from Mount 'Tifata to Cape Misenum, was sheltered by a range of volcanic mountains, and the city lay at the foot of the great cone of Vesuvius, whose slopes, then as now, were gay with vineyards and blossoming fruit trees, and with chestnuts, and maize and corn. On the western side Herculaneum looked out, over the waters of the bay that washed her walls, to the soft blue mountains of Ischia and Capri.

It was a land, too, rich in legend and poetry. It was the land of the Sibyl and of Avernus, the entrance to the under-world; the land where Ulysses evoked the shades, and where the Cumæan Apollo wept tears when danger threatened his mother country.

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iii. 5.

Here the rich Romans at the end of the Republic delighted to spend their leisure. Under the Empire the luxury and senseless extravagance of the mother city spread to the provinces,<sup>1</sup> and the fantasies of the Emperors — Augustus at Nola, Caligula at Baiæ, Claudius near Pompeii—lined the gulf, from Cape Misenum to Sorrento, with gorgeous palaces and villas.

The little city of Herculaneum seems to have been worthy of its surroundings. It was beautiful with columned porticoes and stately buildings, a theatre, public baths, a basilica and temples; and the precious marbles and bronze statues flashed back the sunlight, and the wide, straight streets were fresh with many a fountain.

Herculaneum possessed, too, at least one princely country villa such as Pliny describes,<sup>2</sup> adorned with fresco and mosaic, and opening into a great garden, with a pond, where, amid the ilex and the cypress, the roses and the violets, were set priceless statues in bronze and in marble, after the fashion of the Roman gardens of to-day, though eighteen centuries have passed.

Of the humbler life too we catch a glimpse in

<sup>1</sup> Cicero, *Contra Rullum*, ii. chap. xiv.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, *Epistolæ*, v. 6.



the houses by the sea, where the fisher-folk and merchants and sailors gathered, and where the white-sailed ships brought their treasures across the sea to the great magazines that stood along the shores of the little "Port of Hercules," as it was called.

Then came the earthquake of A.D. 63, and while the courtyards were still ringing with the tools of the masons as they toiled amid the great blocks of stone and marble to repair the city, the eruption of 79 overwhelmed it in a stream of liquid mud.

So it lay for sixteen centuries, while successive eruptions buried it yet deeper.

Of the great public buildings of Herculaneum we can now see nothing, save the half-buried portion of the Theatre, a hundred feet beneath the lava. Yet those empty shells of houses at Resina, which alone of all the city are unburied, bring us very near, as simple things will, to the ancient life of Herculaneum. Few people come here: Pompeii has so much more to show.<sup>1</sup>

You stand, a solitary alien, among these shattered columns—wander over the green grass and among the flower-beds of their old gardens, set in the

<sup>1</sup> In the year 1869, for 19,000 people who visited Pompeii, 1200 went to Herculaneum.

midst of the roofless, naked walls of their houses ; you note here and there a pitiful scrap of marble or mouldy fresco still clinging to the brick-work to tell of past glories, a bit of delicately sculptured cornice or frieze, a fragment of a fluted Corinthian column. The blazing sun in a vivid blue sky casts long columned shadows over the grass where roses still blossom among the ruins ; away in front is the glittering expanse of sea, and in the street at the other side of the wall, and yet very remote, crowds of Neapolitan children are shrieking and shouting in that poorest and most picturesque of quarters where the coral-fishers live.

And when, with the mind full of the descriptions gathered from the story of the excavations, we have examined the sculptures and frescoes and mosaics of the Museum, and those simple human relics—fishing-nets and hooks and leads, food-stuffs and household furniture—the ancient Herculaneum begins to live again little by little, and pass before our eyes like a series of dissolving views.

But the vision of ancient Herculaneum can only be won by patient study of often tedious details.

We must define the form and size of the city, learn how the streets ran, and where the build-

ings stood. We must endeavour, from imperfect accounts, to construct a plan of the chief buildings, and to discover what materials composed them, and with what designs they were decorated. We must try to discover from what buildings the sculptures in the Museum came, and, if possible, from what part of the building.

We must collect hints from inscriptions, from papyri and from statues, for information as to the life of the citizens, and we must look at this one little provincial city in all its aspects in the light of a wider knowledge of history and archæology.

And yet it is probable that half Herculaneum has never been seen by human eyes. We read in the records the name, and nothing more, of a *forum* and a *chalcidicum*, a *schola* and a *macellum*. What splendour of columned portico and frescoed wall may not be hidden under those names? We read of “temples,” of “columns of alabaster,” of “inlaid floors,” and we imagine marble-lined shrines with statues of deity and emperor. And what may not be concealed in those regions totally unexplored?

As we picture the possibilities of fresh discoveries made in the dark depths of the earth, the story of Herculaneum is touched with something of the

glamour we felt in childhood when we read of phantom cities and hoards of buried treasure.

And yet the dream of fresh excavations of Her-  
culaneum seems likely to be realised, and we can  
only wait in patience and hope for fresh visions of  
beauty to be revealed—for a few more letters of  
those unwritten words that shall spell for us some  
of the secrets of history and archæology.



## CHAPTER II

### HISTORY OF HERCULANEUM

Ancient inhabitants—The Samnites—The Romans—  
The eruption

**Origin of Herculaneum: the Phœnicians.**—The origins of Herculaneum are lost in obscurity. Dionysius of Halicarnassus<sup>1</sup> tells us that the hero Hercules (who flourished some thirteen hundred years before the Trojan war) visited this spot with his fleet.

Perhaps the fact veiled in this myth is that some seafaring Phœnicians,<sup>2</sup> attracted by the beautiful harbour, founded a settlement here.

The little town that has grown up over the buried Herculaneum still bears the name of Portici, which is possibly derived from its legendary name, *Herculis Porticus*.

**Oscans, Pelasgians, and Greeks.**—We know the names at least of some of the races that have

<sup>1</sup> Book i. 44.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Dall' Osso, *Nuova Antologia*, Jan. 1906 ; Beulé, *Le Drame de Vésuve*.

inhabited Herculaneum. After the Oscans, whose indecipherable inscriptions at Pompeii are the delight of scholars, came a Pelasgic people from the Peloponnesus<sup>1</sup> who mingled with the native "Etruscans," as the classical writers call them.

In the second half of the fifth century a Greek colony settled here from the mother city of Naples, one of the many Greek cities scattered about South Italy, which earned for it the name of *Magna Græcia*, and left such lasting records in the art of the district. It is to this fact that Herculaneum owes the emphatically Greek character of its architecture.<sup>2</sup>

**The Samnites.**—Upon this lovely city the Samnites swept down from the mountains in B.C. 420. During the war against the Samnite confederacy (B.C. 328) Herculaneum, with other towns south of the river Volturnus, took part with the Samnites, but after the fall of Naples (327) became neutral, and by 314 all Campania was in the hands of the Romans.

Again in 283, during the Samnite war, we find Herculaneum twice besieged and finally captured by the Roman general, Carvilius.

<sup>1</sup> Servius, *Ad. Aen.* i. 7.

<sup>2</sup> See chaps. iv. v. vi.

**The Romans.**—In the Social war the city joined the insurgents only to be captured again by the Romans in B.C. 80, the year in which Sulla took Pompeii.

Naples and no doubt other Greek cities had special treaties with Rome, which guaranteed their citizens exemption from land service as well as a Greek constitution.<sup>1</sup> When, after the Social war, restricted rights as Roman citizens were offered in exchange, they felt perhaps some hesitation in accepting them, and some at least retained their former communal constitution, and Greek as the official language.

Herculaneum, however, became a *municipium*,<sup>2</sup> with its local officials—*duumviri* and *decuriones*<sup>3</sup>—on the model of the consuls and senate of Rome, and all the other petty officials of a provincial town, until its little history came to an end with the great eruption.

**The eruption.**—The final catastrophe that overwhelmed the cities of the plain seems to have been totally unexpected.

<sup>1</sup> Mommsen, *Roman History*, iii. p. 519, ed. 1894.

<sup>2</sup> See chap. xvi.

<sup>3</sup> The *decuriones* had the right of striking coins, and some of this period bear the letters D.D., "Decreto Decurionum."—Duruy, *Roman History*, i. 400.

For years Vesuvius had been at peace, and it was considered an extinct volcano. Florus<sup>1</sup> tells a story of how Spartacus, the leader of the Slaves' Insurrection in B.C. 73, found refuge by descending its crater, and Strabo<sup>2</sup> gives a graphic description of its peaceful appearance. Then came the earthquake of A.D. 63, which ruined part of Herculaneum and left the rest insecure,<sup>3</sup> till the city was overwhelmed in the final catastrophe of A.D. 79.

Of the eruption we have a vivid and minute account by the younger Pliny, who was living with his mother at Misenum. His uncle, the elder Pliny, was Admiral of the Fleet here, and perished after failing in a valiant attempt to rescue the sufferers by bringing ships to Stabiae, near Pompeii.

Those who saw something of the eruption of April 1905 seem to be reading in Pliny's two letters to Tacitus,<sup>4</sup> an account of an almost identical occurrence.

The eruption actually began at 1 P.M. on the

<sup>1</sup> Florus, iii. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Book v. 8, and *cf.* Diodorus Siculus, iv.

<sup>3</sup> Seneca, *Nat. Quaes.* vi.

<sup>4</sup> Pliny, *Ep.* vi. 16, vi. 20. For scientific details, which correct the popular and false notions of "molten lava," &c., see Sir William Hamilton in *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. lxi., and elsewhere. Also Michele Ruggiero, *Della Eruzione del Vesuvio nell' anno 79.*

twenty-fourth of August, A.D. 79, with the usual phenomena of flames, darkness, lightning and earthquake, and a vast cloud of ashes, which whirled with the wind till it took the form of a gigantic parasol pine, and spread like a darkness that might be felt all over the country. There was a troubled sea, receding towards Pompeii, advancing on Herculaneum; then the appalling, on-rushing floods of liquid mud.

In the afternoon of the 25th, Pompeii, which lies on the south-east slope of Vesuvius, was overwhelmed to a depth of twelve feet by a sudden and widespread fall of ashes, pumice, and stones, carried along by a high west wind, and escape was well-nigh impossible. Six hundred skeletons have been found in the streets of Pompeii and in the immediate neighbourhood, especially at Stabiæ, where there was an attempt to escape by sea. Pliny, who was still at Misenum, tells us of the trampling, pressing, panic-stricken crowds abroad in the fields during that awful night of August the 25th, and how he took his mother by the hand and tried to keep the throng off her. We also hear how the courtyard of the house near Stabiæ where the elder Pliny was sleeping was filled with ashes, and that the household rushed out, with



pillows tied over their heads, and how the old Pliny, "who was stout and troubled with his breathing," succumbed to the noxious vapours.

At Herculaneum, which lies on the south-west side of the mountain, there was a heavy fall of hot volcanic rain. The sea rushed in; torrents of liquid mud swept down upon the city, leapt the walls, choked up house and street, penetrated into every corner and crevice and corridor, and flung down bronze and marble statues and tossed their shattered fragments in all directions.

The superincumbent pressure from the torrents of lava and mud of six subsequent eruptions<sup>1</sup> has converted the original mud stream into a compact mass of rock, popularly known as *tufa*, and Herculaneum lies buried and embedded in a solid mass of lava and tufa varying in depth from 60 to 100 feet (18 to 30 metres),<sup>2</sup> and at certain points polished and hard as marble.

<sup>1</sup> The distinct strata of these successive eruptions can be plainly seen; they are divided by layers of good soil. There was a great eruption in 471, also in 1631 and in 1698, when the sea again rushed in. Shells are found embedded in the lava.

<sup>2</sup> Near the sea the depth is only 26 feet (8 metres), at the Temple of the Mother of the Gods 36 feet (11 metres), in the orchestra of the theatre 85 feet (25·50 metres). To the east the depth increases. This accounts for the fact that all excavations

The fall of rain must have warned the inhabitants, and given an opportunity for escape.<sup>1</sup> Only seven skeletons have been found, and perhaps rather fewer portable objects than might have been expected. So perhaps the majority of the inhabitants escaped with some of their goods. One is, however, disposed to think that many skeletons may have crumbled away, or been crushed by the weight of the lava. Some ancient inscriptions lead us to infer that many people from Herculaneum sought refuge in Naples and inhabited the district known as *Regio Herculaneensis*.

There were, however, portions of the city which, though overwhelmed by the spreading of the mud stream, did not meet the full force of its impetus. It is here that we find bronzes and marbles almost unimpaired. The bronzes were found with their natural surface, colour, and polish. At Pompeii, on the contrary, they had acquired their peculiar bluish have been made in what is obviously the south-west portion of the city.

<sup>1</sup> The sensational accounts of the appalling mortality in Herculaneum are specimens of imaginative history by the hand of later writers such as Dion Cassius. See Sir William Hamilton, *Phil. Trans.* 1751. In the records we only find mention of seven skeletons, while 600 were found in the neighbourhood of Pompeii.

<sup>2</sup> Capasso, *Napoli Greco Romana*, p. 44.

tinge of sulphate of copper. The marbles are not calcined. The colours of the frescoes are unimpaired, while, on the contrary, at Pompeii the blues and reds were changed to grey and yellow by chemical action. Leaden pipes are found unmelted ; and damp, absence of air, and the lapse of seventeen centuries are enough to account for the carbonisation and decay of woodwork, food-stuffs, and papyri.

The original mud stream, which penetrated everywhere and solidified, acted as a prop to the buildings, which would otherwise have collapsed from age, earthquakes, or pressure overhead. It also preserved and took the impress of the statues that were not shattered at the first onrush.

## CHAPTER III

### THE EXCAVATIONS

Site of Herculaneum—Methods of excavation—The excavators—The sum of knowledge derived from the excavations—The plan of the city—The buildings—The sculptures—Lost treasures

**Site of Herculaneum.**—Over the site of Herculaneum the two straggling little towns of Portici and Resina have grown up.

They lie adjacent to each other, four miles south-east of Naples on the main road which leads, parallel to and within sight of the Bay, to Pompeii.

Several allusions in ancient writers make certain the identification with Herculaneum of the city buried here.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus<sup>1</sup> tells how Hercules visited a place whose port was always safe, and which lay between Naples and Pompeii.

Sisenna<sup>2</sup> too describes “the little town with

<sup>1</sup> Book i. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Book viii., and *cf.* Ovid, *Metam.* xv. 711.

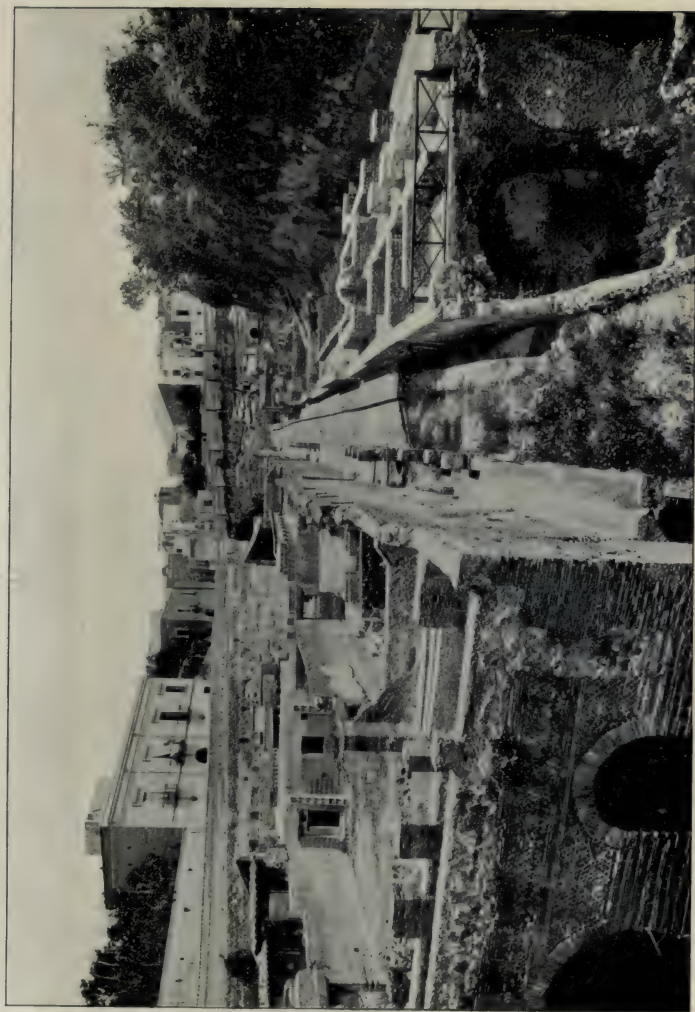


FIG. 2. OPEN EXCAVATIONS AT RESINA





small walls on a steep slope near Vesuvius, close to the sea, between two rivers.”

Just at this spot, beneath Portici and Resina, excavations were carried on intermittently from 1709 to 1876.

**Methods of excavation.**—The excavators started by sinking a shaft.<sup>1</sup> Then a low, narrow, subterranean passage was hewn out, 4 to 6 feet (1·2 to 1·8 metres) in height and 3 to 4 feet (·9 to 1·2 metres) in width. Small areas on each side of this were excavated, the treasures removed, and the whole filled in again before proceeding in a similar manner farther on. There was a constant fear that the vast superincumbent weight would cause a total collapse. After some slight accidents the vaults of the passages of communication were supported by wooden piles, or supports of solid masonry or brick, such as may be seen now in the Theatre. On more than one occasion complaints from the inhabitants living over the excavations put a stop to work in that part, and the reports contain lists of damages to be made good for houses injured, especially in the neighbourhood of the Theatre.

<sup>1</sup> Vertical shafts were used for removing treasure, and sloping shafts for purposes of ascent and descent ; *cf.* various plans in the records.

These subterranean passages formed a perfect rabbit warren. We have minute descriptions,<sup>1</sup> accompanied by a plan, of all those made in the excavations of the Villa of the Papyri. But in the earlier days at least no such plan of the tunnels was made, and the toilers underground often lost themselves and found they were returning on their steps.<sup>2</sup>

They were still further confused, especially in the neighbourhood of the Piazzetta di Colli Mozzi, by traces of very ancient excavations,<sup>3</sup> which, judging from inscriptions, were carried on in the time of Septimius Severus (A.D. 193).

To the actual physical difficulties of the work was added great discomfort from the cold, dark, and damp, and from occasional exhalations of poisonous gases, especially of carbonic acid gas and sulphuretted hydrogen, during the excavations on the Villa.

Frequently too the tunnels filled with water, and there was especial difficulty in this respect in

<sup>1</sup> Weber's plan, reproduced in Comparetti and De Petra, *La Villa Ercolanese dei Pisoni*; and cf. plan of Theatre, Ruggiero, *Storia degli Scavi*, tav. iv.

<sup>2</sup> La Vega, Oct. 25, 1766, and Alcubierre, Aug. 6, 1741.

<sup>3</sup> Winckelmann, *Recueil de lettres* . . . p. 22.

the excavations of 1770,<sup>1</sup> behind the stage of the Theatre, where the workers just managed to find a floor of pounded brick, some 30 feet (9 metres) above the sea, and remains of woodwork before they were flooded out. This disposes of the idea that there was discovered any large building north of the Theatre.

**The excavators.**—The names of the men who worked in the underground tunnels of Herculaneum and left records in journals, registers, plans and maps, have been handed down to us.

From 1738 to 1780 Rocco Gioacchino de Alcubierre was the chief military engineer.<sup>2</sup>

Carlo Weber,<sup>3</sup> a Swiss engineer, was working under Alcubierre from 1750 to 1764, and he furnishes the bulk of the first-hand evidence on the excavations. The few plans we have remaining are good, and the reports fairly lucid, especially those relating to the House of the Papyri. With him was working Giuseppe Corcoles.

Francesco la Vega succeeded Weber in 1764, under Alcubierre. His reports and plans are useful for the period they cover, but as the excava-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Chap. vii. end.

<sup>2</sup> He died in 1780.

<sup>3</sup> He died in 1764.

tors transferred their labours, at this moment, from Herculaneum to Pompeii, La Vega<sup>1</sup> had little to do.

Francesco Rorro (May 1741), and Pietro Bardet (1741-1745), took a small part in the work, during the illness of Alcubierre, but the records from 1741 to 1749 are almost entirely wanting.

From 1739 Giuseppe Canart, a Roman sculptor, had charge of the treasures taken from the Theatre.

Camillo Paderni was Keeper of the Museum at Portici from 1751.

The excavations of the nineteenth century were in the hands of Carlo Bonucci.

**The sum of knowledge derived from the excavations.**—Such is the story of Herculaneum, of the eruption, and of the excavations.

What knowledge have we acquired of the plan and buildings of the city? What knowledge of art and history from the sculptures found there?

The methods of excavation adopted were perhaps, in those days, the only possible, but they were calculated to yield a minimum of information. We must also take into account the general ignorance of archæology in the eighteenth century

<sup>1</sup> He died in 1786.



and the fact that Pompeii, which interprets Herculaneum for us, was still buried beneath the ashes.<sup>1</sup>

Had the excavators of Herculaneum possessed any knowledge of the buildings of Pompeii, what obscure points could they not have illuminated, what significance could they not have extracted from those portions of walls and those dimly perceived porticoes, from those few feet of street, that bewildering succession of courts and gardens and rooms, and from fragments of stone and bronze and fresco, which could tell them nothing! It is only by knowledge, and by possessing some standard of comparison, that we know what interpretation to give to an unknown object.

Yet one is disposed to think that the ignorance of the men engaged on the excavations was something quite phenomenal. They were nearly all military engineers rather than archæologists. Winckelmann amiably remarks of Alcubierre that he knew no more of archæology than a crab does about the moon. Some one else describes the workmen as "galley slaves toiling under an ignorant superintendent."

Weber and La Vega were exceptional men, but

<sup>1</sup> Excavations were begun in Pompeii in 1765.

the latter had little opportunity of useful work, as operations were transferred to Pompeii, and he died in 1786.

Weber, when working under Alcubierre, suggested<sup>1</sup> to his superior the desirability of making a plan of the city with a view to more orderly methods of excavation, but he called down upon himself a prompt rebuke.

**Form of the city.**—From collecting scattered hints in the reports, and from fragmentary plans, incorporated in a single plan by La Vega, we are able however to form some idea of the general plan of the city.<sup>2</sup>

**Public buildings.**—Of certain of the great public buildings<sup>3</sup> and a few others we have accounts definite enough for identification and description. These buildings are: the *Theatre* and a few houses near; the building usually called the *Basilica* and two *Temples* (or *Curiae*) opposite it; the *Temple of the Mother of the Gods* and another unnamed; the *House of the Papyri*; the houses at Resina and the *Columbarium*.

Of three buildings—a *chalcidicum*, a *macellum* and a *schola* recorded in inscriptions,<sup>4</sup> no certain

<sup>1</sup> Letter, Oct. 1760.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. iv. and plan 2.

<sup>3</sup> Chaps. v. vi. vii.

<sup>4</sup> Chap. xvi.



[After La Vega and Dall'Osso]

PLAN 2. THE CITY

trace has, as yet, been found, though a building at the extreme end of the central street (6 in Plan 2) might possibly be one of these.

We have very vague accounts of many other

buildings,<sup>1</sup> or rather of treasures found in buildings, whose very existence is rather dubious and which are generally named "temples." A "forum" is marked on La Vega's plan, though its existence has been denied by Professor Dall'Osso with very good reason.

Of the extraordinary confusion as to the identity of all these buildings, their position and character, we shall have examples in the detailed account of the buildings.

**The sculptures and frescoes.**—The sole object of the earlier excavators was to extract treasure to fill the king's Museum. With this end in view walls were ruthlessly pierced, marbles and frescoes were torn from them, and statues and busts were removed from the buildings where they stood.

Even when we know from what building the treasures came, we seldom have any exact knowledge, for the early days at least, of the position of statue and bust. Such knowledge would enable us not only to reconstruct a vivid picture of the ancient buildings, but is sometimes of vital importance for the determination of doubtful points in the plan of a building. Page after page of the reports of the excavations of important buildings is filled with

<sup>1</sup> Chaps. vii. x.

mere catalogues of fragments of bronze, marbles, and frescoes and small treasures, and gives scarcely a hint of the nature of the building or its position.

At several points, too, which must have been outside the boundaries of the city, treasures were found, but the most important of these discoveries was in 1755-6, beneath the royal stables at Portici, which lay about 850 yards (800 metres) south-west of the Theatre.

Rooms were found here paved with mosaic. Their walls were encrusted with marbles or adorned with frescoes, and they had vaulted ceilings with stucco reliefs, similar in style to those found in Nero's Golden House, beneath the Baths of Titus, in Rome.

Portions of ancient buildings were also found in 1761-2 at Colli Mozzì, which lay on the east side of the Corso Ercolano, the present main road from Naples to Pompeii, and again in 1836, at Fosso di Callollo, a peasant discovered painted walls, mosaics, and fragments of rosso antico.

At the close of 1741, just when the excavators caught glimpses of porticoes of marble columns beneath a modern vineyard, work was stopped here by the refusal of the owner of the vineyard to have anything touched.



These remains may have been parts of country villas belonging to Herculaneum, or one of the many pleasure villas which were built all along this coast.

Even the identification of the statues in the Museum is in many cases difficult, and some at least have suffered from restorations. The Roman sculptor, Canart, was summoned in 1739, and though his efforts in the case of the *Bronze Horse*, and a few others, were successful, we yet read sinister, if vague, accounts of the treatment of the treasure trove, of "melting down" of bronzes and the "removal of the patina." A statue was made of the king and queen out of the portions so treated. As to the frescoes, Paderni, the Keeper of the Museum, destroyed those that appeared to him worthless, and cut off portions from others.<sup>1</sup> Some were varnished: the reports give us the receipt for the making of the varnish, the bill sent in to the king, and the failure of the mixture to preserve the pictures.

When an inscription was found that could easily be destroyed, the bronze letters were torn down, and thrown altogether into a basket, "To try

<sup>1</sup> Ribau, in Fiorelli, *Pomp. Ant.* vol. i. Pt. II. p. 146, for Nov. 12, 1763, and Jan. 25, 1764; and cf. Ruggiero, *Scavi di Stabiae*, p. 5.





the talents of the Academicians in piecing them together."

Portions of statues shared the same fate: they were sent in carts to Naples and turned out in a pile on to the floor of the courtyard.

A good deal was stolen, and there was a considerable amount of treasure that never came into the hands of the Government at all. We have some accounts of this in the authorities published by Ruggiero, and in a mutilated portion of an account in Fiorelli's journal, of which the rest is suppressed.<sup>1</sup>

From these we hear how a woman, sinking a well in her garden in 1764, discovered some marbles, portions of statues and columns. Some boys were discovered playing marbles with the fragments she had thrown into the street. The more important part of the treasure was finally carried off to Naples by a dealer, who required eight beasts of burden for the task. Various chapels in Naples were adorned with the spoils.

A similar story is told by an old man, a market gardener in the neighbourhood, who tells how his father was finding treasure fifteen years before d'Elbœuf arrived on the scene in 1713.

<sup>1</sup> Fiorelli, *Giornale degli Scavi*, 1861-65.

It is only from the reports and plans made by the excavators, though often inadequate and confused, and from a study of the ancient works of art in the Museum, that it is possible to reconstruct some dim image of the ancient city which has been so cruelly plundered, and then reburied.

NOTE.—A Commission has just (June 1908) been named by the Italian government, and a sum of £2000 voted to be used for making experimental borings to obtain measurements as to the extent and depth of the volcanic deposit lying over the city.



## CHAPTER IV

### GENERAL PLAN OF THE CITY

Geographical position—The streets—Herculaneum a  
Greek city—Area.

**Geographical Position.**—Of the general plan of the city we can form some idea from the necessary limitations of geographical position, from the discovery of buildings which must have been on the outskirts, from the position of public buildings, and from the direction of those streets which have been discovered.

For most of this information we are dependent on the records. As we have said, nothing can now be seen but a portion of the dismantled Theatre, 100 feet (30 metres) beneath the lava, and the houses at Resina, which cover an area of 300 by 150 perches (1510 by 755 metres).

Geographically, the city must lie between the slopes of Vesuvius on the east and the sea on the west. Since the eruption, the coast-line has

receded<sup>1</sup> a distance of over half a mile, so that the sea once washed the city walls.

The discovery of the Columbarium,<sup>2</sup> and of the definitely suburban House of the Papyri<sup>3</sup> define the south-east and north-west limits of the city respectively.

We know further, more or less accurately, the position of the public buildings mentioned above.<sup>4</sup>

**The streets.**—Just in front of the Basilica was discovered a street nearly 30 feet (9 metres)<sup>5</sup> in width. It was paved, as were all the streets in Herculaneum and Pompeii, with polygonal blocks of lava. The side path, raised nearly a foot above the road, was paved with inlaid marble (*opus sectile*), though other pavements discovered were usually of earth or pounded brick (*opus signinum*). The edges of the pavement were of tufa. The street was adorned with at least four public fountains, of which two were of marble; and quite an exceptional number of lead pipes have been found. Columned porticoes lined the street on either side.

From its direction, this street would have passed

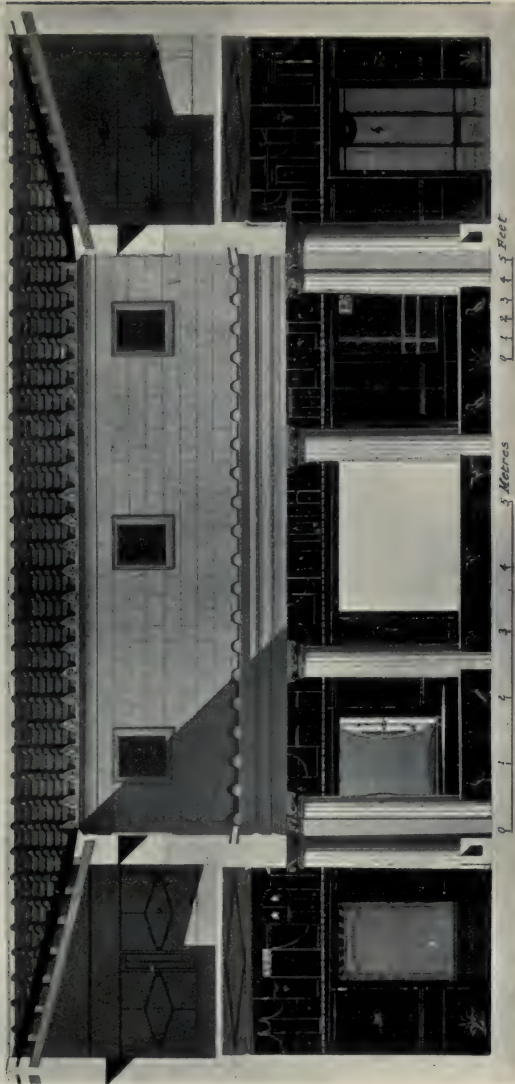
<sup>1</sup> The ancient coast-line was determined by La Vega who sank a shaft and, beneath the lava, discovered the sand of the ancient beach. Cf. Plans 1 and 2.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. x.

<sup>3</sup> Chap. viii.

<sup>4</sup> Chap. iii.

<sup>5</sup> Weber's *Report*, Nov. 1756,



After Zahn

FIG. 4. SECTION OF THE HOUSE OF ARGUS  
Taken along line X-Y in plan 8



all the public buildings mentioned above, having the Theatre and Basilica on the north-east side, and the other buildings, together with a few houses<sup>1</sup> on the other. Weber also speaks of a public square.

The whole city slopes down to the sea—*i.e.* towards the south-west, and this street lies along the slope, parallel to the sea and to the modern Corso Ercolano.

The torrent of liquid mud that overwhelmed the city carried down this street fragments of bronze horses and statues swept from the Basilica, temples, and Theatre.

Further excavations to the south-west brought to light another much narrower street, parallel to the first; and then, at right angles to these two streets, and equidistant from each other, portions of five other streets, dividing that part of the city into exactly equal blocks of buildings. These streets measured 24 to 25 feet in width (7·61–7·94 metres). In the houses at Resina we can see a portion of this district of the city.

The ancient line of sea coast would prevent any further extension of the city in a south-west

<sup>1</sup> These houses were similar to those at Resina: most of them had some frescoes and coarse mosaic floors. Cf. Chap. x.



direction beyond the houses at Resina, so the part where we may look for further discoveries would be to the north-east of the broad street.<sup>1</sup>

It does not seem rash to conclude from these data that the broad street, with its fountains, porticoes, and public buildings, was the great central main street;<sup>2</sup> and that further excavations would reveal, on the north-east side of it, a plan of the city similar to the very symmetrical plan on the south-west.

We can thus conceive, fairly definitely, something of the form and measurements of the ancient Herculaneum.<sup>3</sup>

We can see it was laid out on the rectangular plan imported into Italy by the Greeks when they founded Naples, the "New City"; and when Naples, in the second half of the fifth century, sent out a colony to Herculaneum, the new colonists

<sup>1</sup> In 1759 and in 1836 fragments of mosaics, marbles, and frescoes were discovered here, and in 1761-2 at Colli Mozzi, just beyond the theatre, traces of ancient buildings were actually found, and in February 1806, at Fosso di Callollo, a peasant discovered some painted walls, mosaics, and pieces of rosso antico, but see Dall' Osso, *Tribuna di Roma*, 1907, No. 44.

<sup>2</sup> Weber had already perceived this: see his letter to Alcubierre, Nov. 1756.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. La Vega's *Notes* for March 1749 and Weber's for Nov. 13, 1756.

raised a city whose plan, orientation of streets, porticoes, walls and public buildings closely resembled those of the mother city, as far as we have any record of them, and were entirely Greek in character.

**The area of the City.**—If all our hypotheses are correct, the actual city would seem to be about square, its sides measuring 1213 feet (370 metres). The line of excavation from north to south—*i.e.* from the Theatre to the Columbarium at Moscardino measures 1968 feet (600 metres), that from north-east to south-west 1476 feet (450 metres). It would thus be about a quarter the size of ancient Naples.<sup>1</sup>

That it was walled, like Naples, we have proof in the inscription found at Bisogno,<sup>2</sup> the meaning of which, however, is not perfectly clear, and in the fact related by Livy of two sieges sustained by the city. In some of the mosaics found here we see represented a city with battlemented walls, and four towers, and it seems possible that it is Herculaneum.

It is true that at the single point where we have

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Prof. Dall' Osso, in *Nuova Antologia*, Jan. 1906, and in the *Tribuna di Roma*, 1907, Nos. 14, 29, 44, 70, for the comparison between Naples and Herculaneum.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. xvi.

touched the limits of the city—*i.e.* in the houses at Resina—there is no trace of a wall. But this was probably because, at this point, it was necessary to have ready access to the sea, as was the case at Pompeii, whose walls stop where was the ancient sea front.

## CHAPTER V

### THE THEATRE

Excavations of 1713—Excavations of 1738-74—The plan—Decoration—Statutes—The Theatre to-day.

HAVING thus formed some conception of the plan of the city, we may pass on to the public buildings which adorned it.

Of these the first discovered was the Theatre, about which our information is fairly complete.

**Excavations of 1713.**—In 1709, the Prince d'Elbœuf, general of the Austrian Army, purchased a site for a seaside villa at Granatello, near Portici.

It was in 1713 that in sinking a shaft he came upon the back of the stage of the Theatre, though he was probably in complete ignorance of the nature of the building, and indeed the site of the buried city was still a disputed matter.

The network of tunnels that he made in the course of exploration may be seen on a plan by Weber.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ruggiero, *op. cit.* Tav. iv.

Besides columns of alabaster, he found here slabs of precious marbles, marble cornices, and many statues. Some of these were despatched to Vienna, and went through various vicissitudes. Among them were some lovely draped female figures,<sup>1</sup> portraits of *Women of the house of Balbus*.

There are, in the Naples Museum, eight marble *Consular Statues* taken from this spot.<sup>2</sup> Of these four, robed in a toga, and without heads or arms, once stood on the Piazzetta at Resina.<sup>3</sup>

Portions of a statue of *Hercules* were also found. Two fragments of inscriptions<sup>4</sup> were discovered at the same time. One reads :

SEPTEM VIR EPULONUM . . . . .

and the other

APPIUS PULCHER CAII FILIUS

**Excavations of 1738-1774.**—In 1738 Charles of Spain and Naples renewed the work of discovery.

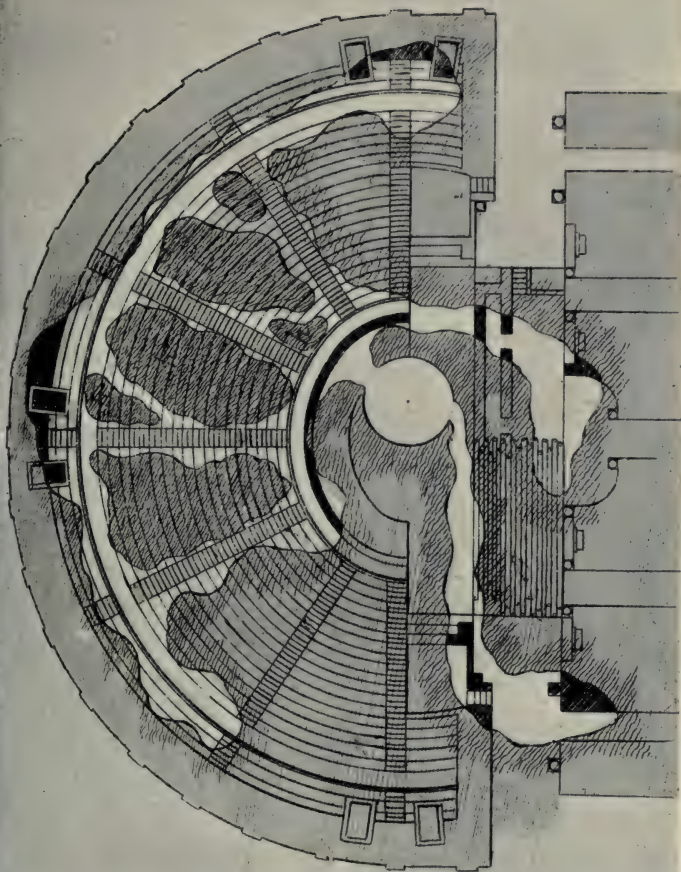
<sup>1</sup> Fig. 14, Cat. 6240, 6242, 6249, 6250, 6168, and *cf.* Ruggiero, *op. cit.* Proem. xvii. Three of these are now in the Dresden Museum, Herculaneum room, Cat. 500, 501, 502. For *Nonius Balbus*, see chap. xvi.

<sup>2</sup> See Naples Museum, Cat. Nos. 5965-6-9, 5970, 5983-4-7-8.

<sup>3</sup> Whence this spot has been called *Colli Mozzi* (*mozzo* = mutilated).

<sup>4</sup> Corpus Inscriptionum 1423. *Cf.* Chap. xvi.





*After Cochin and Belliard, 1754*

PLAN 3. THE THEATRE : SHOWING THE GREATEST AMOUNT EVER EXCAVATED



The course of these operations, from 1738 to 1774, may be briefly outlined as follows:—

The end of the year was occupied in excavations in the stage and a small portion of the outside of the Theatre.

In January 1739, part of the eighteen tiers of seats (*cavea*) for the audience was discovered, and the front of the first parapet (*balteus*) between the seats, and in February the west entrance towards the modern Vicolo di Mare. After this the outside was further explored.

Work went steadily on (though documentary information is lacking for 1740, and is very scanty till 1751), and in 1762 the front (*pulpitum*) of the stage was discovered.

Till the year 1764 the excavators were unearthing the lower part of the exterior, with its arches and pilasters, and the upper part of the *cavea*.

On Weber's death, in 1764, La Vega carried on the work till 1774, when operations ceased. During this period the parts already partly explored were more fully excavated. Avellino's proposal in 1847, to try and discover the top of the stage by a shaft sunk at another spot, was never taken up.

The results yielded by these partial excavations<sup>1</sup> are sufficient to enable us to reconstruct the Theatre in imagination.

**Plan of the Theatre.**—In general plan this building resembles other theatres found in Roman cities, and is especially like that at Pompeii.

It is built in a plain, and not, as in the case of a Greek theatre, on a hillside, where the natural slope of the ground could be utilised in the structure.

When we consider the ordinary proportions of theatres<sup>2</sup> we find that in the Herculaneum Theatre the orchestra is somewhat narrow, the stage (*proscenium*) broad and long, the height of the front of the stage (*pulpitum*) about the usual height of  $3\frac{1}{4}$  feet (one metre). In the Greek theatre, on the contrary, the orchestra was large, with a small altar (*thymele*) in the centre; the stage was necessarily narrower, and also somewhat higher, than in the Roman theatre. The Greek used the orchestra for dances: the Roman utilised part of the orchestra for seats, took away the altar, enlarged the stage, and lowered it, in order that the view might not be cut off from the

<sup>1</sup> For the amount excavated see plan 3, and *cf.* Plan 4 and Figs. 5 and 6.

<sup>2</sup> Vitruvius V. 3.

spectators in the front row.<sup>1</sup> Our theatre, therefore, approximates to the Roman rather than to the Greek type. Further, two curule chairs<sup>2</sup> (*sellae plicatiles*) were found in the orchestra.

On the other hand, a statue of *Bacchus* was found in the orchestra, though there is no trace of a thymele.

The proportions of the Theatre at Pompeii are much the same, though there the orchestra is rectangular in form and somewhat broader.

The Theatre is of medium size.

The diameter of its exterior circle measures 177 feet (54 metres), of which the orchestra measures 29 feet (9 metres).

The orchestra is 31 feet (9.5 metres) above the level of the sea, and 87 feet (26.6 metres) below the modern Resina. Volcanic matter still lies over it to a depth of 23 feet (7.1 metres). In height the Theatre measures 63 feet (19.5 metres) and could hold about 3000 spectators.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The limit of height for the stage in a Roman theatre was 5 feet (1.5 metres), while in the Greek theatre it was 10 to 12 feet (3 to 3.6 metres). Cf. Dörpfeld, *Jahrbuch*, 1901.

<sup>2</sup> Cat. 73152-3. Weber, however (Jan. 21, 1762), states that they were found in the tribunalia.

<sup>3</sup> The Theatre at Ephesus has a diameter of 495 feet (151 metres), and that of Marcellus at Rome 426 feet (130 metres).



The wall at the back of the stage, which often represented a royal palace, as the background for the actors, was adorned with two superposed rows of pilasters and arcades with niches and doors, and painted in red and yellow, with two red marble columns, now in the Church of S. Januarius in Naples, and with two fluted marble columns.

A similar column stood in front of the stage. There were probably twenty-four columns in all,<sup>1</sup> judging from the proportions of the stage, and of the remaining columns.

Behind the stage was a narrow room (*post-scenium*) used as a dressing-room, and entered by a door from the back.

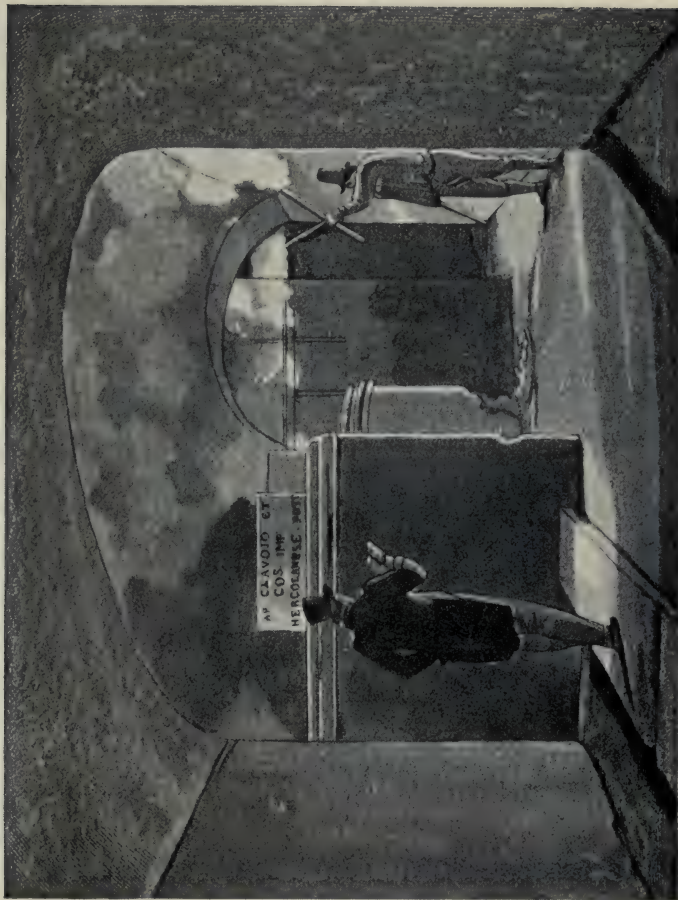
The orchestra was paved with thick slabs of giallo antico, of which fragments are still left.

As in Pompeii, the names of the donor and architect were placed near one of the orchestra entrances.<sup>2</sup>

To the right and left of the orchestra, supported by vaults and approached by stairs near the ends of the stage were the large boxes (*tribunalia*), probably reserved for the more important magistrates. In Rome one was always reserved for the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mazois' restoration in *Les Ruines de Pompéi*.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. xvi.





Vestal Virgins. A similar structure is found in the Theatre at Pompeii.

All the seats and stairs are of tufa.

The tiers of seats for the spectators (*cavea*) are divided into six wedges (*cunei*) by seven flights of steps radiating from the orchestra, and terminated by seven exits (*vomitoria*). They are divided, parallel to the circumference, by two passages (*praecinctiones*). The lowest division (*ima cavea*) consists of four rows of somewhat broader seats, measuring 7 inches (18 centimetres) in height, and 35 inches (90 centimetres) in breadth. This was the place of honour, and was approached by the orchestra entrances. Those entrances were closed by great bronze gates which Weber imagined were "the doors to the cages of the wild beasts." Chairs were placed on these seats, of which only the uppermost row now remains. The mass of the spectators sat on the eleven tiers immediately above (*media cavea*), and reached their seats by stairs connected with the passage dividing the *ima cavea* from the *media*. Above the *media cavea*, and divided from it by a corridor, were three more rows of seats, the *summa cavea*.

Round the top of the *cavea* stood superb statues of the imperial family and municipal benefactors,

all larger than life, and six bronze gilt equestrian statues.<sup>1</sup>

The outside was of tufa, arranged in small diamond-shaped pieces (*opus reticulatum*) so common in buildings in Rome of the early imperial epoch. The walls are faced in parts with brick.<sup>2</sup>

The lower part was adorned with the superposed rows of eighteen arches, supported on pilasters, and the whole was covered with stucco painted,<sup>3</sup> and decorated with marble cornices.

Along the exterior, at the back of the stage, on the north side, was a portico of Doric order, with fluted columns, coloured red below and white above. The full force of the mud torrent swept down at this point, and but a few pilasters remain of the once stately columns.

The Theatre was decorated with many kinds of precious marbles. Besides the commoner kinds, there were found here African, porta santa, giallo antico, rosso antico, cipollino, serpentine, and the rare jasper and alabaster. Very lovely too, were the cornices, friezes, capitals, and columns.<sup>4</sup> Of

<sup>1</sup> See chap. xii.

<sup>2</sup> We have here four examples of brick marks; see C. I. 10, p. ii. 8042 (31, 41, 58, 98).

<sup>3</sup> Mazois, *op. cit.* vol. 4, for reproductions of this decoration while it was still fresh.

<sup>4</sup> Ruggiero, *op. cit.* Tav. vi.



all this, the greater part has been lost to us, not so much by the violence of the eruption, as by the ignorance and rapacity of the excavators.

**The Statues of the Theatre.**—Every part of the building, within and without, was decorated with statues. They adorned the portico; they stood up against the blue sky round the outer walls; they crowned the circle of the cavea; they filled the seven niches of the pulpitum. When the mud torrent rushed down, it shattered the statues in the portico, on the north side of the Theatre. It swept on and hurled down the statues on the nearest wall into the Theatre, and those on the south wall it carried along in its headlong course right down the main street that runs to the sea, and here, in the last excavations of 1828–1837<sup>1</sup> were found many fragments of bronze, marble, and silver.

Of the ancient treasures of the Theatre much is destroyed beyond recognition. Of the fifteen marble statues of the stage, of the bronze gilt equestrian statues of the cavea, of the superb bronze gilt chariots and horses over the entrances of the orchestra we have only broken portions, except for one magnificent *Bronze Horse*,<sup>2</sup> found

<sup>1</sup> Chap. x.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 9, Cat. 4904.

in fragments and skilfully pieced together. It can only be compared with the *Bronze Horses* of St. Mark's at Venice.

Just recognisable are the mutilated statues of *Bacchus*, found near the foot of the stage in the orchestra (in 1766) and of *Hercules*, with a lion's cloak (November 1738).

In rather better condition are some of the colossal bronze statues that crowned the cavea—*e.g.*, *A Vestal*<sup>1</sup> (March 1739); *Nero Drusus*, as a priest sacrificing with veiled head<sup>2</sup> (August 1741); the ugly and realistic *Marcus Calatorius*<sup>3</sup> (December 1743); *Lucius Mammius Maximus*<sup>4</sup> (December 1743); *Antonia*,<sup>5</sup> wife of Drusus (August 1750); and some headless and armless statues of women, unknown.<sup>6</sup> Here also was found the deified *Augustus*,<sup>7</sup> half draped in a single cloak, and holding the thunderbolt, and a statue of *Tiberius Claudius Drusus*.<sup>8</sup>

On the outside of the Theatre, where it faced the sea and so missed the full force of the torrent,

<sup>1</sup> Cat. 5583.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 11, Cat. 5615.

<sup>3</sup> Cat. 5597.

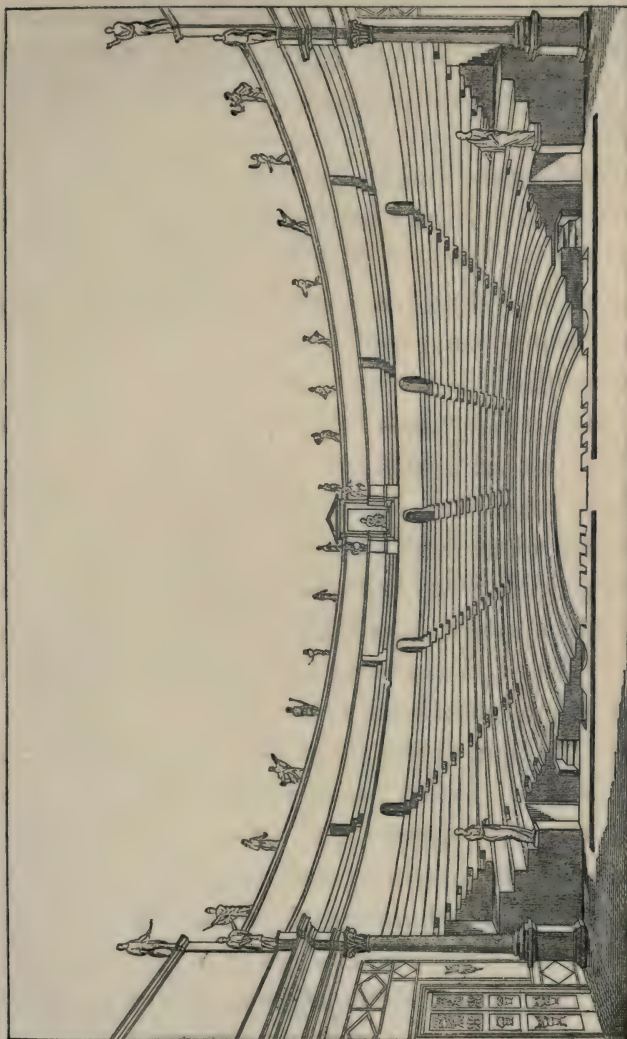
<sup>4</sup> Fig. 15, Cat. 5591.

<sup>5</sup> Cat. 5609.

<sup>6</sup> Cat. 5589, 5599, 5612.

<sup>7</sup> Cat. 5595, Bayardi, *op. cit.*, Pl. 56.

<sup>8</sup> Cat. 5593. For the identification of some of these statues see chap. xvi. on inscriptions and chap. xiii. on sculptures.



[After Bonnet]

FIG. 6. THE THEATRE, RESTORED

were found (1738-9) still standing on their long pedestal, three marble figures, draped in the toga, and not far from the same place, a nude marble *Venus*.

Two bronze cornucopiæ, and four bronze vases were found in the cavea in 1750 and 1768, some medals, twenty-five consular medals in silver, a fine marble medallion a foot in diameter, and some coins of Augustus and Nero.

**The Theatre as it exists to-day.**—In addition to data from journals and plans we have a portion of the Theatre actually before our eyes.

We enter the Royal Excavations at Portici, traverse some long modern corridors, and finally, passing out of the brilliant sunshine, we descend a hundred modern steps into an atmosphere growing ever colder and damper. Our only light is from an ancient shaft overhead to the right.

At the foot of the steps we find ourselves in a low, narrow vaulted passage hewn out of the lava.

It describes about a quarter of a circle. Fragments of white marble, stained green with damp, cling to the naked walls, and here and there the eye dimly discerns, in the fitful glare of the torchlight, a line of a frieze, a delicate piece of cornice, or the acanthus leaves of a Corinthian pilaster.

This vaulted passage is the upper corridor of the Theatre, above the *media cavea*.

We then descend some ancient steps, which we find to be one of the seven flights dividing up the *cavea*, and on the right of the steps we see portions of the tiers of seats where the spectators sat, all of dull, yellowish-brown volcanic tufa, and the whole seems hewn out of the living rock. When we reach the bottom of the stairs we see fragments of the thick slabs of *giallo antico* still in position on the floor of the orchestra, as they were laid down twenty centuries ago. The swift feet of the dancers pass no more over its polished surface, but the marbles are still there, triumphant in their ancient beauty over time and earthquake and the rapacity of man. To the right of the orchestra, supported on a vault, a small portion of the tribunal can be seen, projecting out of the massy lava. The whole of the *pulpitum*, still covered with a few fragments of marble, and the two flights of four steps, for ascending from the orchestra to the stage, are complete. The entire length of the very large stage can be seen. All the niches and the arches of the *proscenium* exist, but robbed of their marbles.

Behind the stage is the dressing-room for the



actors, with a smaller room, apparently for the same purpose, and on the left of the stage is a fine arched doorway for the entrance. The pilasters still retain a portion of their stucco covering, painted red, and on the walls of the dressing-room are fragments of colouring to imitate marble.

On the right of the stage is the pedestal, with an inscription, that bore the fine statue of the elder *Balbus* robed in the toga, which is now in Naples Museum.

On the left of the stage is a similar inscribed pedestal for an equestrian statue to *Appius Pulcher*. The statue no longer exists.

A very small portion of the lower part of the outside of the Theatre can be seen, with its tufa and brick walls still adorned with fragments of pilasters, coated in red stucco. In the portion adjoining the left of the stage there is a door for the entrance of the public.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE BASILICA

The identification—The plan—A comparison with other buildings—The “forum” and “public square.”

**The identification of the Basilica.**—In May 1739, while excavations were going on in the Theatre, we read in the reports of Alcubierre that fresh excavations were begun 512 feet (156 metres) from the Theatre (*i.e.* south of the Theatre). The building then partially discovered is vaguely called a “temple.” We have no hints as to its plan or size, but we read of the discovery of semicircular recesses containing the now celebrated frescoes of *Theseus*,<sup>1</sup> *Telephus*,<sup>2</sup> *Chiron* and *Achilles*,<sup>3</sup> and others, and also many bronze statuettes.

There is no further information about the building in the reports. In Cochin and Bellicard's book of 1754, we have a detailed description and plan of a building at whose east end were semi-circular

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 52, Cat. 9049.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 53, Cat. 9008.

<sup>3</sup> Fig. 54, Cat. 9109.

niches containing the frescoes mentioned above, and at whose west end were the two well-known equestrian statues of the two Balbi, discovered in 1739.<sup>1</sup> His description of the building, and of the two temples opposite is so circumstantial, that it seems reasonable in the general confusion to regard his account as reliable, and to judge of conflicting facts in the light of one comparative certainty.

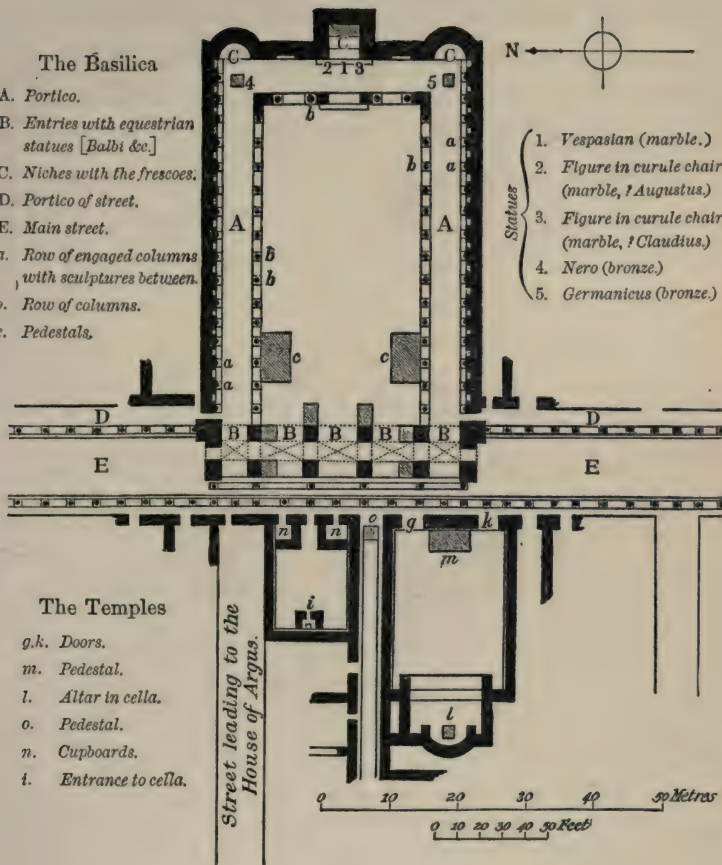
In the journals of the excavations carried on at Bisogno (part of which land covered the building already discovered), we have nothing about this building till we come upon a description in 1761 of the excavators entering into a building by piercing the wall at the top, over the cornice.

Alcubierre calls the building indifferently "Temple," "Temple of Jove," "Temple of Theseus," and "an edifice." It appears soon that it was in *this* building that were found the frescoes and the equestrian statues. It would seem that the same building was simply rediscovered in 1762. The identification by means of the niches and frescoes is scarcely dubious. It still remains a mystery

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 12. Cf. Gori, *Symbolae Litterariæ*, 1748. They are not, however, mentioned in the records, which are complete for 1739, and so possibly they were found at a subsequent date previous to 1748, the records being very deficient for that period. The date usually given is 1739.

## The Basilica

- A. Portico.  
 B. Entries with equestrian statues [Balbi &c.]  
 C. Niches with the frescoes.  
 D. Portico of street.  
 E. Main street.  
 a. Row of engaged columns with sculptures between.  
 b. Row of columns.  
 c. Pedestals.



[After Cochin and Bellicard]

PLAN 5. THE BASILICA AND TEMPLES

that, if this is the case, the excavators did not mention the fact. If this is not the case, there is a further difficulty in explaining the existence of Cochin's<sup>1</sup> plan of 1756. The missing records for 1741-9 would probably elucidate this. Though we have such an exact picture of the building, its name is still a matter of dispute. Modern opinion is in favour of calling it a "basilica," and it is perhaps the building mentioned under that name in the inscription found at Bisogno in 1757.<sup>2</sup>

It has also been called a "forum" by La Vega and Bellicard, and a "palaestra" by Ruggiero.

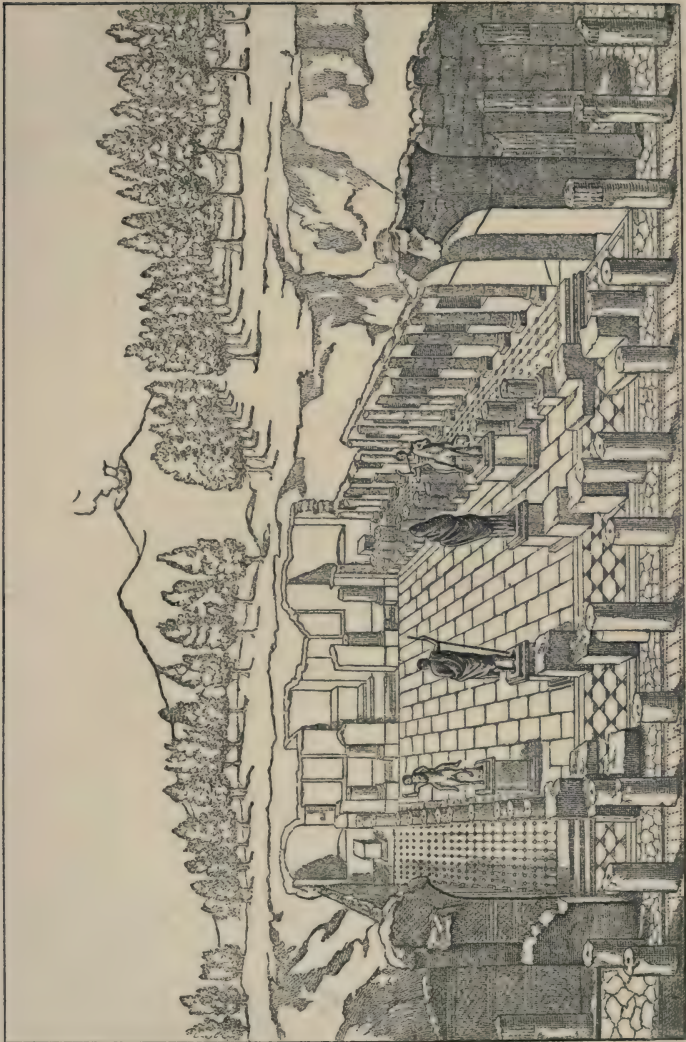
**The plan of the building.**—As to the building itself, we have very definite information.

It lies 511 feet (156 metres) south-east of the Theatre, and measures 228 by 132 feet (68 by 40

<sup>1</sup> Plan 5, Fig. 7. On this knotty point *cf.* Ruggiero, *op. cit.*, who states that the building was merely touched on, in 1739, forsaken till 1758, and finally entered in 1761 and partially explored. This agrees with such records as we have. He then refers to Cochin's plan of the building, omitting to mention that the plan is published in a book dated 1756. The point remains a mystery. La Vega, *Reports*, October 25, 1766, shows how the excavators frequently returned unwittingly upon their own tracks in dark labyrinths of underground tunnels.

<sup>2</sup> This was found some way to the south-east of the building and on higher ground, so it does not seem likely it could have ever been affixed to the Basilica, or swept away from it by the torrent of mud. See chap. xvi.





[After Bonucci]

FIG. 7. THE BASILICA, RESTORED

metres). It is surrounded by a wall with forty-two engaged columns in all, and inside the wall, and parallel to it, is another row of columns. The two support the roof of a covered portico, whose floor is raised two feet above that of the rest of the building.

Along the shorter end, at the west, are five entrances, adorned with four pilasters. On the arches of these five entrances stood five equestrian statues, of which two only remain to us, the marble equestrian statues of *M. Nonius Balbus*, father<sup>1</sup> and son.<sup>2</sup>

At each side of the portico entrance stood great pedestals for statues, and on the half columns, between the engaged columns of the wall, stood alternately a bronze and a marble statue. These have mostly perished.

At the opposite end of the building are three recesses—that in the centre contained a colossal marble statue, headless, of *Vespasian*, identified by the inscription found near, and, on either side, two headless figures<sup>3</sup> seated in curule chairs.

The niches at the side contained colossal statues

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 12, Cat. 5174.

<sup>2</sup> Cat. 6167, Inscript. Cat. 3708. Cf. Chap. xvi.

<sup>3</sup> Fig. 10, Cat. 6040–56.

in bronze of *Nero* and *Germanicus*, identified by the similarity to their heads on coins, and all three recesses were adorned with frescoes of *Theseus victorious over the Minotaur*,<sup>1</sup> *Telephus suckled by the hind*,<sup>2</sup> and *Chiron teaching Achilles the lyre*.<sup>3</sup>

The outside was covered in marble. The columns were of brick covered with stucco.

The interior above the cornice was painted in fresco.<sup>4</sup> There was a frieze of dragons, lions and dolphins, and also representations of combats of heroes, especially those of *Hercules*,<sup>5</sup> which lend some colour, perhaps, to the hypothesis that this was indeed a palaestra, as seems possible too, from the fact that, quite near, was found a round room with a bath.<sup>6</sup>

**A Comparison with other buildings.**—This is all we know about the Basilica. Comparing this

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 52, Cat. 9009.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 53, Cat. 9048.

<sup>3</sup> Fig. 54, 9109.

<sup>4</sup> Cat. 8540, 8828, 8864, 8903, 9006, 9011, 9012, 9054, 9290, &c.

<sup>5</sup> Venuti, in a description of a "Temple of Hercules" (which is obviously the Basilica, as he describes in detail the decoration in fresco of the niches) describes these walls as painted in red, with square pictures of animals, fauns, Medusa, &c.

<sup>6</sup> Weber thought this building was a temple, *Reports* of July 5 and July 24, 1760. If this is, indeed, a palaestra, it is possible the real basilica lies still undiscovered at Bisogno, where the inscription was discovered.

building with certain buildings at Pompeii we find it has some of the characteristics of three different buildings—the Basilica, the Forum, and the building for purposes of trading known as the Building of Eumachia. They all possess the central space enclosed in a colonnade: the Basilica of Pompeii has the five entrances adorned with statues, while the Building of Eumachia has three recesses for statues at the end, as in the building before us.

The building seems rather small for a forum which at Pompeii measures 497 by 156 feet (149 by 46 metres). On the other hand, there is no apse, as in most basilicas, though in that at Pompeii we have no apse, but a raised platform (*tribunal*).

Professor Dall' Osso<sup>1</sup> is persuaded that we have here a basilica indeed, but a basilica of the Greek type and differing from the Roman Basilica at Pompeii in the absence of the tribunal and great semicircle at the end, and in the presence of the raised colonnade that surrounded the central space.

In the ancient Naples we might have found a Greek basilica to compare with it, but we only know that the Neapolitan Basilica had five entrances, like that at Herculaneum.

<sup>1</sup> *Tribuna di Roma*, 1907, No. 44.



In a frieze of painted stucco<sup>1</sup> in Naples Museum showing the citizens of Herculaneum plying their trades and driving their bargains we have what may well be a representation of the great colonnade of the wide central street, and the façade of the Basilica, with its bronze gate and two striking equestrian statues, where the riders seated, Greek fashion, without stirrups or saddle, are surely the famous Balbi, father and son.<sup>2</sup>

If it is indeed a basilica, it is important as yet another type of a building of which we have but too few examples. Of the original Greek basilicas we have no remains, and our knowledge is derived from the imitations in the Forum in Rome. The essential of a basilica was that it should be a spacious hall, surrounded by a colonnade. It was roofed, but the roof of the colonnade was lower than that of the central portion.

It was used for various purposes, but mainly for the administration of justice, and usually had an apse, with a tribunal at the end.

This was the type of building adopted by the Christians for their places of worship.

**The "forum" and "public square."**—In the accounts of the excavations still carried on in

<sup>1</sup> Reproduced in Mau, *Pompeii*, p. 55.    <sup>2</sup> Chaps. xii, and xvi.



Bisogno, we find, in July 1743, after the very clear account of the great main street, with its porticoes and raised pavements,<sup>1</sup> and a description of a good many treasures found in various buildings, presumably private houses,<sup>2</sup> near it, a very vague account of a building surrounded with Corinthian columns 20 feet (6 metres) high, with a great door, and an altar. The building measured 167 by 157 feet (51 by 48 metres).

In the confusion and inaccuracy of the accounts, this building might be almost anything. Ruggiero thinks it is a building distinct from the Basilica, and perhaps the "public square." This seems confirmed by Weber who, in 1756, describes the large main street as "opening out on a Piazza where are two cross streets."

It is just possible that all these descriptions refer to the "forum" marked on La Vega's plan, the existence of which Professor Dall'Osso denies, though La Vega's plan is certainly not quite reliable because he leaves out altogether the Temples (*Curiae*) found opposite the Basilica, of which we have plans and descriptions both in Cochin, and occasionally in the records. These leave us in no doubt as to the position here of two such buildings.

<sup>1</sup> See chap. iv.

<sup>2</sup> See chap. x.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE TEMPLES

The identification—Temples opposite the Basilica—  
Temple of the Mother of the Gods—Temple unnamed  
—The Temple of Hercules—The Temple of Thesus.

**The identification of the temples.**—The number and nature of the temples in Herculaneum must remain a mystery till further excavations shall reveal the truth.

The reports surpass themselves in vagueness, and La Vega's fine plan<sup>1</sup> was compiled from the notes and drawings of past excavators, not from a personal knowledge of all the buildings, which had long been reburied. As regards the temples, La Vega marks three only: a round "Temple of Hercules," south of the Theatre (7 on the plan), and two unnamed, to the south of the main central street (5 and 6 on the plan).

Professor Dall' Osso,<sup>2</sup> in his plan based on La

<sup>1</sup> First reproduced in *Dissert. Isag.* 1797. See plan 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Nuova Antologia*, January 1906, and *Tribuna di Roma*, No. 44.

Vega's, adds two temples (3 and 4 on the plan), a larger and a smaller, exactly the opposite side of the street to the Basilica. The plans and reports as to the position and character<sup>1</sup> of these two temples are so clear that we need have no doubt about accepting this addition.

We thus have five temples to account for.

**Temples or Curiae opposite the Basilica.**—Taking the last two temples first, we find they stood, with houses on either side, in the great main street, just opposite the Basilica, and were themselves separated by a street at right angles to the main street that leads from the Basilica, through the houses at Resina, down to the sea. At the junction of the streets was a large pedestal (*o*) for a statue.

From the portico of the street two doors (*g*, *k*) lead into the larger temple. Between the doors was a large pedestal (*m*), surrounded by the débris of a bronze chariot. The temple measured 160 by 60 feet (50 by 18 metres). In the smaller temple, which had one door only, and measured 60 by 42 feet (18 by 12 metres), were cupboards (*n*, *n*) in the corner, containing utensils for sacrifice. At the

<sup>1</sup> Cochin and Bellicard, *Observations sur les antiquités d'Herculanum*, 1754.

further side was the cella, closed by a wall (*i*), with a single entrance. In the cella was an altar.

Both the temples were vaulted and adorned inside with columns. The walls were painted, and affixed to them were found some large bronze tablets of inscriptions,<sup>1</sup> containing the names of magistrates of the city who had presided at the dedication or contributed money.

De Jorio<sup>2</sup> considers these to be adjuncts of the Basilica, and calls them *Curiae*, though there seems no reason whatever to doubt they were temples.

**The Temple of the Mother of the Gods.**—We have a very precise definition of the position<sup>3</sup> of a third temple discovered in 1757. The measurements given in the reports bring it exactly to the extreme south of the great central main street—*i.e.* to the building marked 5 on the plan. The building was identified by the discovery here of the inscription relating that it was restored by Vespasian, “to the great Mother of the Gods after the earthquake,” though in the records made

<sup>1</sup> Chap. xvi.

<sup>2</sup> *Notizie degli Scavi*.

<sup>3</sup> It stood 455 feet (136·5 metres) south-west of the main street to Torre del Greco, 2730 feet (819 metres) south-east of the Royal Palace of Portici, 819 feet (245·7 metres) south-west of the Theatre. The *Reports* begin July 1757. Cf. Plan 6.

during the excavation it is referred to also as "the Temple of the Venus," from a statue found there.

The major axis of the temple was parallel to the sea, and on one side only were there other buildings.

Passing through the pronaos, which was formed by the wings of walls terminating in pilasters, with two large stuccoed columns between, we reach the cella, which measured 51 by 26 feet (15·60 by 7·93 metres). Including the pronaos, the total outside length was 76 feet (23·28 metres), though there is a little vagueness about the manner in which the measurements were taken.

A votive inscription<sup>1</sup> bearing the words

JULIA HYGIA EX VISU

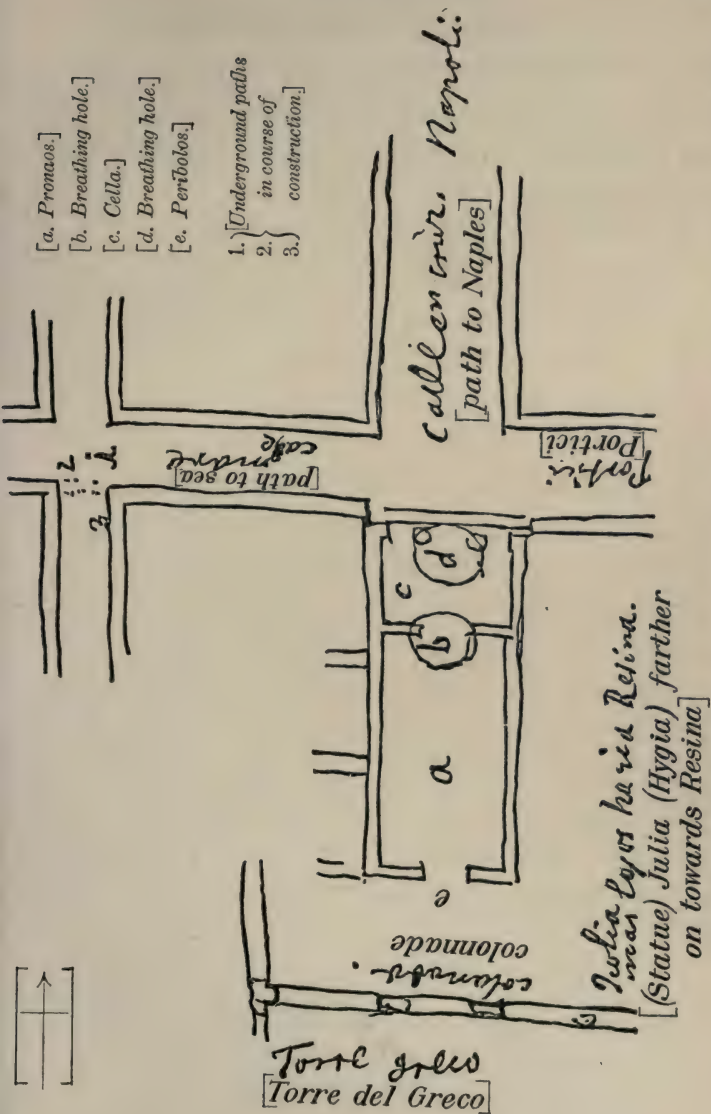
was also found, and a small pilaster of marble supporting a statuette of a woman holding a serpent, representing Isis as goddess of health. Quite near was found a sacred rattle (*crotalum*) and a bronze vase with hieroglyphics, together with other vessels of bronze, earthenware and glass, cups, lamps, and three lovely tripods.<sup>2</sup>

Eighteen feet (5·55 metres) above the street, on

<sup>1</sup> Chap. xv.

<sup>2</sup> Cat. 1107, 69087. Cf. Figs. 62, 63.





PLAN 6. SKETCH PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

Translations and additions are in square brackets, thus [ ]

the east side of the temple, were three statuettes of bronze representing *Venus*, *Mercury*, and *Hercules*,<sup>1</sup> which may have been in the upper storey of the temple, or were perhaps swept down by the mud torrent.

Quite near, in the street, were found two fountains, one of travertine.

The temple is covered by a vault<sup>2</sup> adorned with coloured stars on a white ground.

Over the vault were remains of a room with a floor of white and black mosaic.

The presence of a second storey to a temple is perhaps unique. On the south side of the temple, at some distance from the walls, was a portico with columns, and pilasters at the angles, which were adorned with slabs and cornices of marble. This perhaps was the boundary of the sacred enclosure (*peribolos*) common to many temples.

**Unnamed temple,**<sup>3</sup> 1759-60.—Quite near this temple, and rather larger, measuring 104 by 36 feet (32 by 11·10 metres), a fourth temple, unnamed, was discovered in 1759-60 (6 on the plan). At

<sup>1</sup> Cat. 5133, 5227, 5270.

<sup>2</sup> Drawing by Weber and reproduced in Ruggiero, *op. cit.* Tav. viii. He counted 966 stars!

<sup>3</sup> Weber made a drawing of this and sent it to Alcubierre.

either end were antechambers with columns on pedestals. An Ionic column of grey tufa, found near in 1760, perhaps belonged to it.

A good deal of carbonised woodwork, some cornices of woodwork gilded and some fragments of marble and bronze vessels were found here.

The mosaic floor was black inlaid with small cubes of yellow.

A fine brazier was found here,<sup>1</sup> and in the street near, in 1759, were discovered fragments of a marble bas-relief,<sup>2</sup> and in 1760, a bronze statuette of *Bacchus*.<sup>3</sup>

Is it possible that Professor Dall'Osso is mistaken when he identifies the larger of the two so-called Curiae as the "Temple of the Mother of the Gods?" At least he calls it the Temple of Demeter, which goddess was often identified with the mother goddess, Cybele. The position appears to be wrong, there is no "larger temple quite near," as stated, probably correctly, in the reports, and the descriptions given (1) of this temple (2) of the Temple of the Mother of the Gods, are quite distinct.

**Temple of Hercules.**—After a careful study of the records it is difficult to believe in the existence

<sup>1</sup> Cat. 72898, *cf. Reports of Weber and Paderni*, November 1759.

<sup>2</sup> Cat. 6680.

<sup>3</sup> Cat. 5009.

of a Temple of Hercules, and Weber himself corrects his own mistake made when he thought the partially discovered Basilica was a temple.

The origin of the mistake as to the Temple of Hercules is in the account<sup>1</sup> by Venuti of the discovery, in 1711, of a round temple with twenty-four columns of alabaster, mostly yellow, with a pavement of giallo antico, and of the discovery of broken statues, including some of Greek marble, sent to Vienna. Even at the time, Venuti adds that he is not sure if these columns belong to the Theatre or a temple.<sup>2</sup> Now at this period, the very limited area of the excavations is precisely defined on a plan<sup>3</sup> still existing, which marks only a small part of the stage of the theatre and the back of it.

Further, Mazois<sup>4</sup> in his restoration of the Theatre, conjectures that originally there must have been twenty-four columns adorning the curved back of the stage, and our suspicions are already aroused that this "temple" is only the back of the theatre.

<sup>1</sup> Venuti, *Descrizione delle prime scoperte*, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Venuti personally visited the excavations, and in 1738 he was superintendent of the Farnese Museum, whose contents are now in Naples Museum. He left Naples in 1740.

<sup>3</sup> Weber's plan, reproduced by Ruggiero, *op. cit.* Tav. iii., and *cf.* Minervini, *Bull. Arch. Nap.* June 1861. The space enclosed by the dotted line shows the portion excavated in 1713.

<sup>4</sup> *Cf.* Chap. v. on the Theatre, and Mazois, *Les Ruines de Pompei*.

In any case, if it exists, it lies north of the theatre and not south.

Venuti then goes on to describe some bronze sacrificial vessels of great beauty found here, and a small bronze *Hercules*. He further describes the single room of the temple, with its walls of red and yellow, with square pictures let in of fauns, beasts, Medusa heads, a winged Mercury, and architecture in perspective. This scarcely sounds like the usual decoration of a temple. Then we come to an account of "two niches" of the temple adorned with the two celebrated frescoes of *Theseus victorius over the Minotaur* and *Telephus suckled by the hind*.

Now as these two frescoes were found in 1739, in the curved recesses at the east end of the building which, in 1762, proved to be the Basilica,<sup>1</sup> we begin to be very sceptical about the existence of the temple, which would seem to be a partially excavated portion of the Basilica of which the true plan was misunderstood.<sup>2</sup>

Alcubierre<sup>3</sup> confirms the truth of these impressions.

<sup>1</sup> Chap. vi.

<sup>2</sup> Winckelmann falls into the same mistake in his letter, but De Jorio, *op. cit.* chap. iii., comes to the conclusion embodied in the text.

<sup>3</sup> *Reports*, October to December, 1753.



When, twenty-seven years later, in 1738, he was excavating at the same spot, *i.e.* the north side of the Theatre, he repeatedly speaks of "a temple" and "the walls of a temple at the back of the Theatre." We have no definite information about it save a catalogue of fragmentary treasures found there, a description of the universal confusion caused by the earthquake of A.D. 63, and the notice of a mutilated torso of *Hercules* found near. Then we come upon a statement that "on the architrave of this temple was found in 1713 an inscription to Appius Pulcher," and then an account of the finding of the inscriptions to L. Annius Mammianus.

We know that all these inscriptions stood over the orchestra entrances to the Theatre: that to Appius Pulcher can be actually seen in position there. This effectually disproves the existence of the Temple of Hercules, at least on this spot.

Professor Dall'Osso,<sup>1</sup> in his plan, follows La Vega in placing a round Temple of Hercules (7 on the plan) to the south of the Theatre, and quite close to it, at the north end of the great central street, and compares its form with that of an ancient round temple once existing in Naples. They both apparently base their belief in its existence on what

<sup>1</sup> *Tribuna*, 44, February 13, 1907.

appear to be the inaccurate accounts of Venuti and the mistakes of the excavators.

**Temple of Theseus.**—As to the “Temple of Theseus,” if we read Weber’s account of the excavations carried on 1756–1758 in the neighbourhood of the still undiscovered Basilica, we see that he is aware of a large building here of which the niches with the Theseus fresco discovered in 1739 formed a portion.

For a long time he calls the building “the Temple of Theseus,” then he is in doubt, and calls it “an edifice”: in two almost consecutive passages he states it *is*, and it is *not* “a temple.” “The ante-temple and two columns” might well be a portion of the Basilica portico, and it was not till the wall was finally pierced that the true nature of the building was discovered, in 1762, as the Basilica. Weber’s rather incomprehensible sketch, made in the spring of 1758, would seem to point to the Basilica as the correct identification of the partial discoveries, marked on the plans with the words “appears to be a building.”

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE HOUSE OF THE PAPYRI

A chronological account of the excavations—Plan of  
the House

[*The letters and figures in brackets in the text refer to  
points on Plan 7*]

THE discovery of the *House* or the *Villa of the Papyri*<sup>1</sup> gave to the world the matchless marbles and bronzes now in Naples Museum, and the celebrated rolls of papyri.

It is a relief to come to a building of which we really have some definite information. Though many of the documents relating to the excavations have been dispersed and lost in course of time, the reports remaining to us are fairly accurate. For long periods we have double or triple records. The plans are good, and for the years 1750 to 1754, when the documentary evidence is meagre, or entirely wanting (as in 1752), we depend entirely on Weber's plan.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Chaps. xi. xii. xiii. xiv. xv. For the history of the Villa there is nothing to add to the monograph by Comparetti and De Petra.

**Chronological account of the excavations.**—We are thus able to follow in chronological order the process of the excavations, though they were carried on at several different points simultaneously.

The method of excavation<sup>1</sup> prevented, for a long time, any possibility of forming a correct judgment on the plan of the buildings as a whole.

This ignorance transpires especially in the correspondence of Paderni<sup>2</sup> where, describing the successive portions of the Villa which were uncovered, he speaks of “these noble buildings,” and “another building.” In referring to the discovery of the peristyle he speaks of “a long square forming a kind of Forum *with a bath in the middle*,” which item is of rare enough occurrence in forums. As late as 1755, when the atrium was discovered, he says: “Near the Royal Palace of Portici has been discovered a large garden with a palace belonging to it.”

**The garden.**—In June 1750, in the neighbourhood of the Convent of S. Augustine and Caravita's Garden (now called Fanelli) a shaft was sunk 1000 feet (300 metres) to the north-west of the Theatre

<sup>1</sup> See chap. iii., and *cf.* Plan 7 and Fig. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Paderni, *Phil. Trans.* 1752–3.

and 300 feet (90 metres) to the right of the main road between Naples and Pompeii.

Here was discovered, in what proved to be the extreme north-west end of the garden, a circular room of the nature of a summer-house (*exhedra*) and proceeding in a south-east direction, along a walled road by January 1751, the excavators reached three little rooms (*r, s, v*). From this end of the road, proceeding at right angles (along *h, m*), the western portico of the garden was discovered as far as the west curve of the pond (*o*).

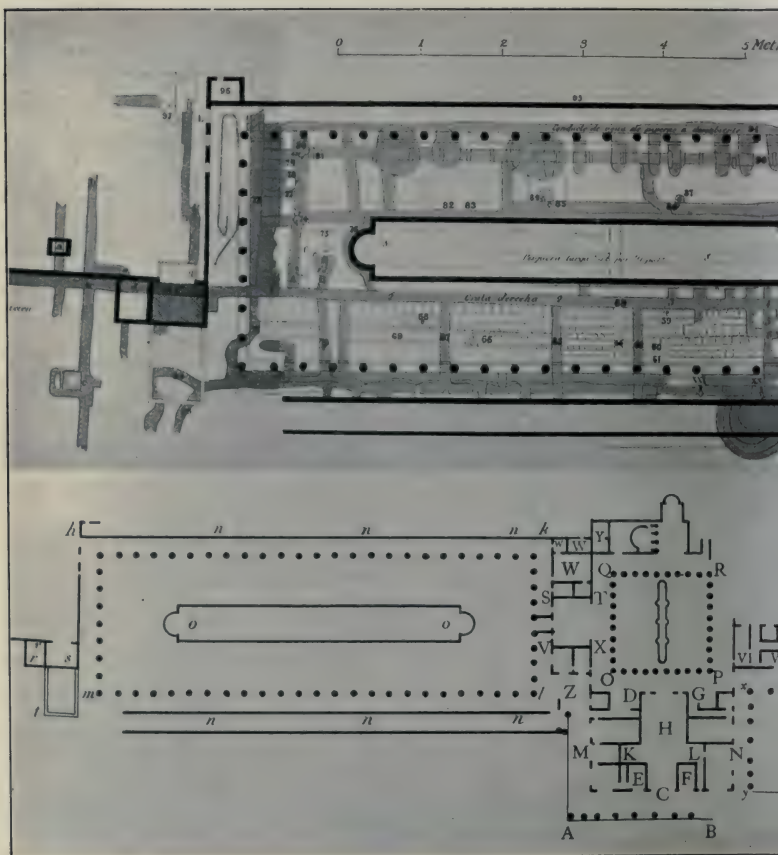
**The tablinum.**—The early months of 1752 were occupied in carrying along various parallel tunnels running south-east, and thus the length of the garden and the pond was determined. A large number of statues and busts were found. The tablinum (*s, t, v, x*) was next reached, where in October were found the first papyri; and parts of the rooms (*z*) south of the tablinum were also excavated.

Early in the following year (1753) a few papyri were discovered in a room south of the tablinum, and at the same time tunnels were carried into the rooms lying north and north-east of the tablinum (*w, y*), and by the end of the year the perimeter of the peristyle (*o, p, q, r*) had been determined.

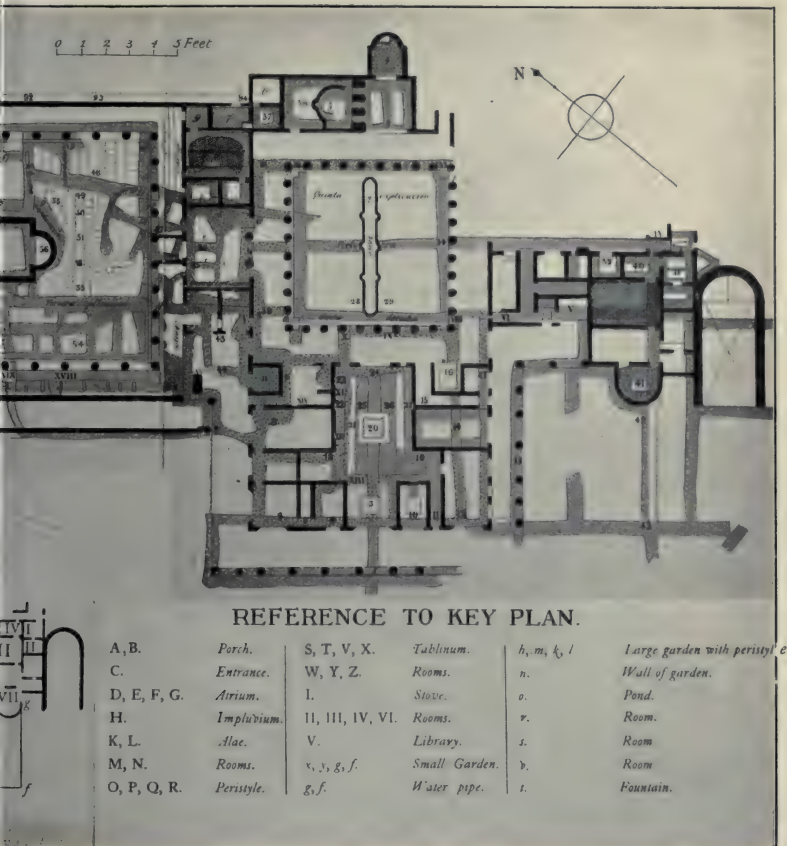
Up to this point we have the plan of Weber, on







PLAN 7. THE H  
From "La Villa



[After Weber and De Petra]

OF THE PAPYRI  
olanese dei Pisoni'



which the position of the statues (about half the whole number) are actually marked. After this, we have to rely on the written accounts, accompanied by the plan only. De Petra, in the monograph on the Villa, has added to Weber's plan the position of the statues found subsequently to this date, and his decision, after full comparison of all documents, leaves very little doubt on the subject.

Of these statues we will speak elsewhere, and will finish first the brief outline of the excavations.

**The atrium and peristyle.**—At the beginning of 1754, exploring the Bosco di Sant' Agostino, near the Royal Palace of Portici, the workmen came upon the atrium (D, E, F, G). The whole west side (D, E) was then explored and at the same time excavations were carried on in the rooms east of the peristyle (I, II, IV, V).

Excavations along the south portico (*m*, *l*) of the garden led to the discovery of several of the celebrated statues known as *The Dancers* (XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI), and those west of the pond and along the north side brought to light other famous bronzes.

**The second peristyle.**—Meanwhile the atrium (D, E, F, G), the rooms to the left (M) and to the right (N) of the entrance (C), the columned porch (A, B), the small garden with columned portico (*x*, *y*)



and several rooms beyond (VII, VI, III) were all discovered during the latter months of 1754 and the early months of 1755. In the rooms beyond the little garden were found many fragments of broken wine-jars (*dolia*).

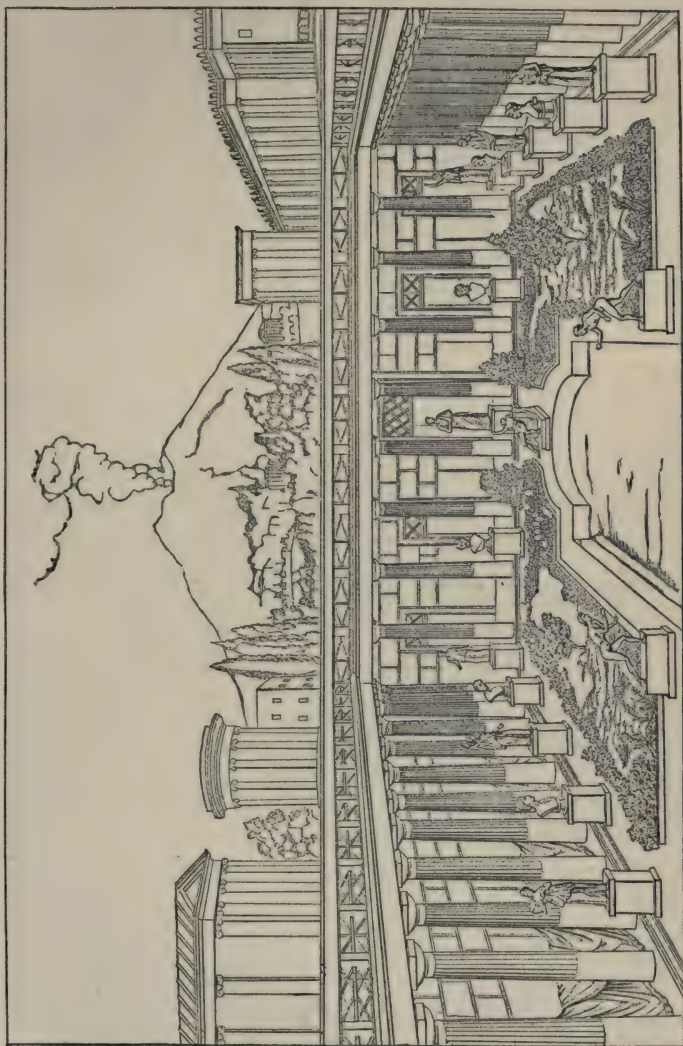
Most of the four years following were taken up in exploring the large area of garden round the fishpond and several portions of the house.

**The plan of the House.**—Reviewing the general result of the discoveries we find we have here a magnificent country villa, which was in very truth “an ancient Museum of sculpture”. The total number of statues and busts amounts to ninety. Many of these are of great beauty.

From these various sources of information, interpreted by our very complete knowledge, derived from the houses at Pompeii, of the villa of the period, we can easily reconstruct in our imagination this House of the Papyri, and recognise it, by its stuccoed brick and many details of style, as contemporary with the late Republican houses of Pompeii.<sup>1</sup>

**The portico.**—The major axis lies north-east by south-west parallel to the sea, towards which

<sup>1</sup> See Mau, *Pompeii, its Life and Art*, for the whole subject of the plan of the houses.



[After Bonucci]

FIG. 8. THE HOUSE OF THE PAPYRI, RESTORED

the entrance is turned. Only eight columns of the portico (A, B) have been excavated, but, from the plan of the house, we can see there must have been four more on our right as we enter.

**The atrium.**—Passing through the vestibule (c) (*fauces*) which is wider than usual, we enter the Tuscan atrium (D, E, F, G). It is paved with a coarse mosaic floor in black and white.<sup>1</sup> It evidently had a painted frieze round, of which fragments were seen on the left-hand and right-hand wall, the latter being adorned with one of those architectural paintings so popular at Pompeii.

Round the walls were bronze statues, busts, statuettes, &c., the two most beautiful being the *Dancing Faun* and the *Faun playing pipes* (23).

Round the impluvium (H) were eleven bronze statuettes of sileni, fauns, cupids and animals (20, 21, 24, 25, 26). Opening into the atrium are the two wings (*alae* ; K, L). On both sides of the atrium are four or five rooms (M, N) communicating by corridors: several had fine mosaic floors, and in one on the left hand side three frescoes<sup>2</sup> were

<sup>1</sup> Four of the mosaic floors are reproduced in Ruggiero, *op. cit.* Tav. x. The original drawings of all the mosaics are in the *Archivio degli Scavi*.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. xiv.

found in place, representing garlands and masks, goats and geese.

**The peristyle.**—We thence pass into the peristyle (o, p, q, r), with its portico supported by thirty-six fluted columns of stuccoed brick. In the centre was a marble basin. The peristyle was adorned with bronze busts and statues. At the entrance were two busts (ix, x), and just inside was another (28), and many statuettes. At the corners (o, p, q, r) stood four bronze heads: the *Doriphorus*, the *Amazon*, and two *Portraits of Philosophers* (30, 32, viii, 33).

**The tablinum.**—The tablinum (s, t, v, x), which measured  $36\frac{1}{2}$  by  $26\frac{2}{3}$  feet (10·9 by 8 metres), must have been a very charming room, looking out, by its three doors on one side to the garden, and on the other, on to the peristyle, open the whole width save for two columns, between which stood the marble statue of the *Archaistic Pallas* (h). Against the north wall was a marble statue of a *Veiled Woman*, and down the centre, in a double row, were eight bronze busts (35, 36). The floor was of mosaic. In this room on April 8, 1753, were found a few papyri lying about, two wooden cases, nearly destroyed, and also some wax tablets. There were four or five rooms (w) immediately



north of the tablinum, and a few more partially excavated, at right angles to them and north of the peristyle.

In one of these rooms (w) north of the tablinum were four portrait busts of *Epicurus*, *Demosthenes*, *Zeno*, the Epicurean philosopher, and *Hermarchus* (room 8). It was here that the 250 papyri were found. The rooms south of the tablinum had some good mosaic floors, and the bronze busts of *Metrodorus*, the lovely head called sometimes *Plato*, and sometimes *Dionysius* (45), and an *Ideal Head* (44).

**The rooms east of the peristyle.**—The admirable plan of Weber fails us for the rooms east of the peristyle. We know, however, they contained a heating apparatus for baths (for the word “stufa” is roughly scrawled on one of the plans at point 1). The room (v) near the centre was a library. The presses of inlaid woods down the middle contained 337 Greek volumes, and in another case were found the 18 Latin papyri tied up together. Two of these rooms had floors in coloured marble. East of the atrium was discovered part of a little garden ( $x, y, g, f$ ), and the whole of the west side ( $x, y$ ) with its seven columns was excavated, and three columns on the



north side. It is probably in the totally unexplored portion that fresh discoveries await us.

A large number of jars (*dolia*) were found in fragments in this quarter; they were evidently supplied with water by a long pipe (*g, f*), running at right angles to the axis. Similar pipes are found in other parts of the Villa; some, from their position, must have carried water from the pond to the house. A great covered aqueduct, to supply the bath water, has also been discovered. The number of fountains, too, give evidence of an abundance of water.

**The garden.**—The garden (*h, l, k, m*), was unusually large, measuring 304 by 102 feet (92·7 by 31·2 metres). The covered walk that surrounded it was borne on the outside by a wall (*n*), and on the inside by columns of stuccoed brick, ten and twenty-five on the shorter and longer sides respectively. In the middle was a piece of water (*o*), 213 by 23 feet (65·7 by 6·9 metres). The rest of the garden was bright with shrubs, and, we may guess, the flowers so beloved of the Romans, roses and violets: a garden such as the younger Pliny describes in his charming account of his villa near Ostia:<sup>1</sup> such gardens as we still see blooming once again, after

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *Epistolae*, v. 6.

nearly two thousand years, about the ancient houses in Pompeii. And the stately portico and the gay garden were beautified by a large number of busts, by some of the loveliest bronze statues the world now possesses, and by some marbles scarcely less beautiful.<sup>1</sup> In the rooms (*r*, *s*, *v*), at the end of the peristyle, were found statuettes, lamps, &c. (57, 60 86), and farther south a fountain (*t*).

The part lying west of the garden has never been thoroughly explored, but it appears to be a continuation of the garden. At the end of the road, which is nearly as long as the garden, was the exhedra, looking over the sea. The floor was<sup>2</sup> paved with African marble and giallo antico, and 200 feet (60 metres) of lava were lying above it. The floor of the exhedra was raised 13 feet above the level of the sea.

<sup>1</sup> See Catalogue, under "Garden."

<sup>2</sup> The floor is now in the Medal Room of Naples Museum. It is reproduced in Ruggiero, *op. cit.* Tav. xi.





*G. Brogi*

FIG. 9. THE BRONZE HORSE

## CHAPTER IX

### THE OWNER OF THE HOUSE

Philodemus of Gadara—Lucius Calpurnius Piso—Cicero's speech, *In Pisonem*—Evidence from the contents of the House—An inscription.

**Philodemus of Gadara.**—The contents of the Library and our knowledge of the authors of the greater part give us a clue to its owner. Then, if our hypothesis as to the owner is correct, we have a further hint as to the possessor of the villa itself.

The Philodemus who wrote the bulk of the works in the Library has been identified, beyond a shadow of doubt, with the Epicurean philosopher who was a contemporary of Cicero, "A most learned and excellent man."<sup>1</sup> He was a Greek,<sup>2</sup> and born in Gadara,<sup>3</sup> well known as a writer on Epicurean philosophy, yet better known as a writer

<sup>1</sup> Cicero: *De Fin. Bon. et Mal.* ii. 119. Cf. Chap. xxi. on the Papyri. Comparetti, *op. cit.*, is the *locus classicus* for this part of the subject.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero: *In Pisonem* 68, Teub. 1860, Note of Asconius Pedianus.

<sup>3</sup> *Strabo*: Book xvi., 759, writing in B.C. 25.



of elegant society verse,<sup>1</sup> remarkable even in those days for its scurrility.

Diogenes Laertius<sup>2</sup> quotes a passage from the tenth book of Philodemus, and a few fragments of the original book have been found among the papyri.<sup>3</sup>

Philodemus lived much in Rome, and was tutor to Lucius Calpurnius Piso.<sup>4</sup>

When we examine the Library of the Villa we are led to form a very strong opinion that Philodemus was not only the author of many of the books, but actual owner of the Library. All the papyri, except twenty-four in Latin, are Greek: they treat almost entirely of the Epicurean philosophy: two-thirds are by Philodemus himself, and the remaining third is written by six different authors. The works of Philodemus himself are of little or no value as philosophy or as literature. Of several of his works there are duplicate copies. Who, save the author himself, was likely to make such a collection of books? The Library, too, contained four busts which seem a singularly

<sup>1</sup> *Antologia*, Reiske, Leipsic, 1754, No. 651, and in other anthologies.

<sup>2</sup> Diog. Laert.: *Σύνταξις τῶν φιλοσόφων*.

<sup>3</sup> Comparetti: *Papiro ercolonese inedito*.

<sup>4</sup> Cicero: *In Pisonem*, 68. . Cf. Horace: *Sat.* i. 2, 121.



*G. Brogi*

FIG. 10. THE EMPEROR CLAUDIUS (MARBLE)



appropriate choice, if they did indeed belong to Philodemus. There is a bust of *Epicurus*, and of *Hermarchus*,<sup>1</sup> who succeeded him as head of the School: of *Demosthenes*, as patron of Philodemus's rhetorical studies, and of *Zeno*,<sup>2</sup> of Zidon, who instructed Cicero and Atticus in the Epicurean philosophy, and hence, having regard to the fact that Cicero and Philodemus were contemporaries, may have been the master of Philodemus.

**Lucius Calpurnius Piso.**—Incidentally, in Cicero's speech against Piso, we have more substantial information about Philodemus, which tends to confirm our hypothesis. Piso was, as we have seen, the pupil of Philodemus.

The career of Lucius Calpurnius Piso is too well known to dwell upon here. He was of distinguished family<sup>3</sup> and his daughter Calpurnia

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Zeller : *Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics*, trans. by Reichei, p. 409, with good footnotes referring to the manuscripts of Philodemus.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero : *De Nat. Deo.*, i. 21, 59, who calls him "Coryphaeus Epicureorum."

It is certainly this Zeno, rather than Zeno of Elea, the Stoic, whom the bust represents.

<sup>3</sup> See Cicero's sneering allusion to "smoke-dried images," *In Pisonem*, i. 1; and Martial, iv. 40 : "*Atria Pisonum stabant cum stemmate toto.*"

married Julius Cæsar. After passing by the usual stepping-stones of quæstor, ædile and prætor,<sup>1</sup> he became consul with Aulus Gabinius in B.C. 58, and was therefore not less than forty-six years of age at this date. The following year he was pro-consul of Macedonia, his power extending over Achaia, Thessaly and Athens, while Syria fell to the lot of Gabinius.

Of his military failure in Macedonia, of his return in disgrace and without a triumph, we have vivid accounts in Cicero<sup>2</sup> and elsewhere.

After the battle of Modena in B.C. 43, and the proscriptions in the consulate of Octavius we hear no more of Piso.

**Cicero's speech:** "**In Pisonem.**"—It was in B.C. 55, the year of Piso's recall from Macedonia, that Cicero delivered his great speech against him.<sup>3</sup> Prompted largely by personal hatred, the speech is peculiarly venomous. Piso's morals, habits of living and personal defects are made the object of such spiteful denunciations, as would surely seem to argue some weakness in the case for the prosecution.

<sup>1</sup> He was also duumvir of Capua.

<sup>2</sup> It was Cicero's attack on his government of Macedonia in *De Provinciis Consularibus* in B.C. 56 that brought about his recall.

<sup>3</sup> *In Pisonem.*



With the public charges we need not concern ourselves. The more personal details bear on the subject before us. Of his personal appearance Cicero<sup>1</sup> gives us a vivid picture. He describes his slovenly appearance, his sallow complexion, and his discoloured teeth. In days when the smart Roman was cleanshaven, and closely cropped and perfumed, Piso's long unkempt locks, straggling beard and hairy cheeks were specially remarkable. His expression was melancholy, "as if he were angry with the Gods," and his "contracted brow" was frequently clouded with anger. The unhappy Piso does not seem to have possessed those virtues that such an appearance would seem to connote. For "this miserable fellow, this mannikin, this Epicurus of mud and chalk," by his sad expression and general taciturnity deceived men, as with a cloak of hypocrisy. Then follows a sufficiently realistic picture of this melancholy Roman pro-consul, indulging in "reeking orgies among his Greek crew."

<sup>1</sup> *In Pisonem*, i. 20, 68, &c. *De Provinciis Consularibus*, *Pro Sextio*, 19, 21, 22, &c.

It is interesting to compare these statements with a passage in which Cicero describes Piso as "a most influential, distinguished and honest man." But then times had changed. Cicero, *Phil.* i. 15, xii. 14, &c.

Cicero's spite pursues him, even in the midst of his revels. The great writer acknowledges that some vices are gentlemanly, and even elegant, but in Piso's habits Cicero could find "nothing refined, nothing elegant, nothing exquisite," and he goes on to reproach him with the squalor and meanness of his household arrangements, including the use of common pottery and cheap couches. Cicero then states that he derived this peculiarly intimate knowledge of Piso's private life from "a certain Greek," who on this occasion seems to have played the amiable part of informer.

This Greek, says Cicero, instructed Piso in the Epicurean philosophy, but since Piso "was of the Epicurean sty, not school," he perverted his philosophy to give sanction to his base pleasures.

When left to himself, Cicero tells us, this Greek was naturally well-bred, accomplished in philosophy and literature and a writer of elegant verses. Then, after the passage describing Piso's private life, Cicero goes on to say that this man was so entangled in Piso's intimacy that he could not free himself, and that he was an easy man of complacent temper who could not say "no" to a pro-consul and paid the price of his patronage by abetting Piso's pleasures. We can well imagine





*E. Alinari*

FIG. II. CLAUDIUS NERO DRUSUS

this philosophic, complacent Greek as one of the "crew indulging in orgies" and all the while keeping a sharp look out on his patron's knitted brow. For obvious reasons Cicero conceals the name of this elegant but treacherous foreigner. A commentator<sup>1</sup> on Cicero's Speeches, adds the note "This man was Philodemus the Epicurean, most distinguished at that period; whose poems are most scurrilous."

We have therefore the definite facts before us, that Piso was the pupil and then the patron of Philodemus of Gadara. That this patronage lasted certainly to the year B.C. 55, that is, till Piso was nearly fifty, and there is no reason to suppose it ceased at this date. Also we know that the two lived together, Philodemus being one of the many Greeks with whom Piso, as was the fashion in those days, surrounded himself.

Now we find in a splendid country house a library largely composed of the works of Philodemus. Since a Greek philosopher, dependent on the patronage of the great, could not own such a villa, we have very strong evidence that the Villa of the Papyri was the property of Lucius Calpurnius

<sup>1</sup> Asconius Pedianus who lived in the middle of the first century A.D. ad Ciceronem : *In Pisonem*.



Piso. This evidence, however, seems to fall short of positive proof.<sup>1</sup>

**Evidence from the contents of the House.**—Further, when we consider the splendid water-supply,<sup>2</sup> the innumerable fountains, the remnants of furniture and utensils found in the house, we can scarcely think they corroborate Cicero's statement as to the squalor of Piso's domestic arrangements.

The discovery, however, of the admirable statues, many undoubtedly Greek,<sup>3</sup> which adorned the house recalls to our mind the charge that Cicero brought against Piso of pillaging his province. "The city of the Byzantines," says Cicero,<sup>4</sup> "filled and superbly decorated with statues, was entirely

<sup>1</sup> Comparetti and De Petra are so convinced of this fact that they have named their admirable work on the Villa, *La Villa Ercolanese dei Pisoni*.

Walpole and Drummond in *Herculaniensia* (1810), in speaking of the Villa, say, "It was supposed to have belonged to Piso."

Winckelmann, *Sendschreiben*, p. 83 (1762), conjectured that the house might belong to Philodemus.

Petersen, *Phaedri Epicureii de Natura Deorum*, frag. Hamburg, 1833, says that this villa was probably that of Lucius Piso, whose friend and tutor was Philodemus, of whom we find many writings in the Villa.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. viii.

<sup>3</sup> For discussion of the statues and of the bust identified by Comparetti as that of Piso, see chaps. xii. xiii.

<sup>4</sup> *De Prov. Cons.* 6.

stripped and plundered.” And in another place<sup>1</sup> he says: “What temple in all Achaia, what spot or what grove in all Greece was there of such sanctity that a single statue or a single ornament has been left.”

The contents of the house cannot, however, be said to possess much weight as evidence.

**Evidence from an inscription.**—The interpretation given by Comparetti of a fragmentary inscription would give some slight support to his theory of the ownership, if the interpretation is correct.

In November 1759, there were found in the peristyle three fragments of an inscription. This inscription<sup>2</sup> had been made on the square marble pilaster which was discovered to belong to the bust usually called *Berenice*. All that could be deciphered on the shattered pilaster was the beginning and end.

TE /      \ ESPIS.  
                                Q

<sup>1</sup> *De Prov. Cons.* 7. *Pro Sextio*, 94.

<sup>2</sup> Reproduced from drawings by Weber and Paderni in Comparetti, *op. cit.* Plate 1. Comparetti goes fully into the whole question.

For the bust (Cat. 5598), see chap. xiii. and Fig. 40.

Unfortunately, the original slabs have been lost, and some pieces in the middle seem to be missing. In Weber's Journal, however, for December 7, the letters *VLI* are added; so probably the fragment from which the letters were copied was found later.

No interpretation of such a fragment can inspire very great confidence, but with due regard to details as to the form of the pieces of marble, the space between the letters, the punctuation, &c., Comparetti's interpretation seems plausible, and certainly ingenious.

He reads

TE ( CTOR ) ESPIS. ( FI  
G ) VLIQ

Expanded this would run, "Tectores figulique Pisoni," and being interpreted would mean, "The plasterers and potters (presented this statue) to Piso."

Mommsen<sup>1</sup> gives tentatively the following interpretation:

T.Epp VLEius thESPIS  
de sua peQ

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, p. 34, for the whole question, in which he denies the correctness of Comparetti's interpretation. The interpretation given by Comparetti in his book differs from that quoted by Mau. Cf. *Six, Ist. Arch. Germ.* 1894, p. 123.



*G. Brogi*

FIG. 12. MARCUS NONIUS BALBUS THE ELDER (EQUESTRIAN: MARBLE)





The question turns on technical points of epigraphy, and all certainty is impossible in the absence of the original marbles.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Comparetti's contention that his interpretation is analogous to the form GENIO. L. NOSTRI FELIX L(ibertus) found in a house at Pompeii can scarcely be supported.

## CHAPTER X

### PRIVATE DWELLINGS AND COLUMBARIUM

Houses near the Theatre and Basilica—The Open Excavations at Resina—General plan—Materials of construction—The House of Argus—The House of Aristides.

**Houses near the Theatre and the Basilica.**—During all the period from 1739 onward, during the discovery of public buildings, we have vague accounts<sup>1</sup> of discoveries of private houses both in the neighbourhood of the Theatre and of the Basilica.

We have full details of the frescoes, mosaics and other treasures found there. Nothing was found of very great importance, and the frescoes (with the exception of the few already mentioned), and those of the House of Argus, discovered in the nineteenth century, are fragmentary, and also so similar to each other in character that a detailed identification is scarcely worth while. The mosaics,

<sup>1</sup> The details are found in the records printed in Ruggiero's book.

too, were fragmentary and usually coarse. All the houses yielded a large number of the bronze statuettes so numerous in Naples Museum. We read repeatedly of the fine marbles found, of Corinthian columns and pilasters, of vaulted roofs, and the places where the treasures were discovered are spoken of as “palaces,” “temples,” “edifices”; but there is no precise topographical description defining the nature and plan of the buildings. There is definite mention of baths with marble walls and stucco columns in the neighbourhood of the Theatre. They turned out to be the fallen columns of the portico of that building.<sup>1</sup>

Venuti, who was in Herculaneum in 1740, adds a few details.

He tells us the buildings were reached by subterranean passages leading from the middle of the Theatre to a street, after passing through double doors. He apparently refers here to the orchestra entrances of the Theatre. These houses possessed many of the peculiarities of the houses subsequently discovered at Resina. They all had upper storeys, with little galleries approached by stairs. The galleries were often painted in red, with grotesques and other figures.

<sup>1</sup> *Reports*, April 1761.

Venuti remarks on the extraordinary state of preservation of the woodwork, in which not infrequently the veinings are sufficiently clear to enable us to identify the wood. The ironwork was rusty with water that had filtered in. The windows were not large, and in some were found remnants of panes of talc or finest alabaster.

We have a few details of the houses. The first, he says, was closed by a bronze gate, which fell at once to pieces. A corridor led to a room painted in red, in which were found glass vases still full of water, some styles for writing on wax tablets, and a plate of silver covered with Greek characters. A staircase, much ruined, led to an upper room, in which were found many utensils in bronze (tripods, locks, keys), and also earthenware and other vessels, and some eggs, almonds and nuts marvellously preserved.

In another room adjoining, he mentions the vases, keys, locks, rings and intaglios that were found; also some medals, of which the greater number bore a head of Nero, with a Temple of Janus on the reverse, and some coarse mosaic pavements (*opus sectile*). All these houses now lie reburied beneath the modern village.

**The Open Excavations at Resina.**—After a lapse of sixty-three years (since 1765) the discovery of

an ancient subterranean way at Bisogno, close to Vicolo di Mare, excited curiosity. The way led to some ancient walls of *opus reticulatum*, pilasters, and painted columns.

By the orders of Francis I. land was purchased,<sup>1</sup> and in 1828 excavations were begun in two parts 150 feet apart, under the direction of the architect, Carlo Bonucci.<sup>2</sup>

In the year 1868 still further purchases of land were made, and excavations were carried on in an eastward direction till 1875. The total area now open measures 300 by 150 perches (1510 by 755·8 metres). The limits of the excavations to the north and east respectively are the modern streets of Vico di Mare and Vico Ferrara.

It is here only that any portion of ancient Herculaneum may be seen in the open day. About 300 yards to the south-west of the Theatre we find the walled enclosure set, like some ghost from the past, in the midst of the noisy streets of Resina.

This portion of the ancient city slopes down somewhat abruptly to the sea, and was only buried to a depth of 36 feet (11 metres).

<sup>1</sup> 10,804 square yards (9032·93 square metres).

<sup>2</sup> To whom we are indebted for the plan reproduced by Ruggiero, *op. cit.* Tav. xii. Cf. Zahn, *Die Schönsten Ornamente* . . . , vol. ii. Plates 63, 64, and Plan 8 in this book.



The main street, the *Via Marina*, divides the excavated portion in two; it runs down to the sea, from north-east to south-west. It is at right angles to the great main street of *Herculaneum*<sup>1</sup> and, could excavations be carried on towards the north-east, would meet it opposite the *Basilica*. A smaller street crosses it at right angles, the two forming a slightly irregular Latin cross.

Along these two streets are houses, inns, shops, and taverns. Before the door of two or three of the houses stand the fluted stucco columns that once bore sheltering porticoes. Where there are no columns, we usually find holes in the pavement for fixing poles to support awnings. At these points there are generally stone benches.

The houses are more ruined than those at *Pompeii*, and have been more completely stripped of their treasures, and as the area open is small, and the houses are large, the limiting line of excavation usually cuts off the greater portion of the building. Hence the plan of the houses, which is very much more varied than the plan of the *Pompeian* houses, is difficult to fully understand. Projecting from the mass of earth rising around us, are tantalising fragments of arches, pillars, and walls.

<sup>1</sup> Chap. iv.



*G. Brogi*

FIG. 13. MARCUS NONIUS BALBUS THE ELDER (MARBLE)



When first this part of Herculaneum was discovered many of the houses still retained the carbonised woodwork of their upper storeys and roofs. Very little of this now remains.

If we walk up the main street from the sea, we have on our right an inn, part of a house, another inn (O on plan), the House of the Skeleton (N), an inn, and another portion of a house.

On our left we have portions of two houses, the House of Aristides (L), the House of Argus, the House of the Genius (M), two inns and another house.

In this small area excavated, we have no less than four inns (*tabernæ*), recognisable by their wide doors, and three wine-shops (*cauponæ*), with earthenware vessels let into the broad benches exactly as we see them in the Pompeian wine-shops. One of these shops seems to have been especially handsome,<sup>1</sup> with good-sized rooms, paved with marble and containing big cupboards with marble shelves inserted in the wall. It was destroyed for the sake of its marbles.

On one of these marble counters may still be seen the green stains from the copper coins, flung

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Venuti, *op. cit.* p. 122.

down in payment. A great number of these coins were found.

The excavations subsequent to 1868 did not prove very fruitful in results, and operations were finally stopped, as the safety of the houses overhead was threatened. At the extreme south-east limit, the point where excavations were stopped, were discovered some Baths. These Baths were very small. The portions excavated consist of a *palæstra*, surrounded by the bases of some small round brick columns, a tiny dressing-room (*apodyterium*), with three niches for clothes and a simple black and white mosaic floor, and a portion of the *frigidarium*.

Along the front of them was a row of shops with traces of second storeys and ladders for ascending to them.

The materials of construction used in Herculaneum are similar to those used in Pompeii. The walls are of brick, or triangular brick-like tiles, set horizontally into the wall with the longer side outwards: of tufa, either reticulate (*opus reticulatum*), or horizontal (*isodomum*) in arrangement; or of a mixture of tufa, lava and pumice built up irregularly (*opus insertum*).

The columns of porticoes, peristyles and atria



are of tufa, travertine, peperino and brick; the columns are usually fluted and covered with stucco and bear traces of colour.

The floors are roughly inlaid with pounded brick (*opus signinum*), or paved with mosaic or inlaid marble. Much marble has been found in Herculaneum, especially about the Theatre, remarkable for variety, rarity and beauty. As the houses were built on a slope, some of them were supported by thick-walled, vaulted chambers. One or two houses are of especial interest.

**The House of Argus.**—The House of Argus,<sup>1</sup> discovered in 1828, is the most important house at Resina, on account of its fine frescoes.

The small porticoed entrance has remains of three columns. Passing thence through a corridor we come to several small rooms (A), looking on to the street, and used possibly as shops.

The large garden (C) is surrounded on three sides by a peristyle (B), supported on twenty columns and six pilasters. Traces of red and blue can still be seen on the stucco of the fluted columns and their Corinthian capitals.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Figs. 3 and 4 and Plan 8. Cf. Zahn, *op. cit.* ii. 63, 65, for plan and elevation, and cf. *Museo Borbonico* Tom. vii.

<sup>2</sup> Reproduced in colour, Zahn, *op. cit.* ii. 69; and cf. Zahn, *Ornaments de toutes les époques classiques des Beaux Arts*, Plate 43.

On the two longer sides of the peristyle were traces of smaller columns, set close together. These were probably thrown down by the earthquake and replaced by the present larger columns, with wider spaces. For purposes of strengthening the portico, the four solid square pilasters at the corners were probably added at this time, and the original columns on the shorter side enlarged by a thick coating of stucco.

On the architrave and on the bases of the columns were found the bars and rings of iron for the curtains which could be drawn at will round the peristyle.

On a portion of the wall of the peristyle was a fine fresco.<sup>1</sup> In the triclinium (D) was a marble floor, and the fresco of *Argus and Io*. The five rooms on the south side, too, had frescoes<sup>2</sup> and marble floors. A corridor on the north side led to other rooms, and thence into a second large peristyle (E), which is still nearly entirely covered by lava, save for three stuccoed columns enclosing a corner of a garden. The walls bear traces of

<sup>1</sup> For the frescoes referred to see chap. xiii.

<sup>2</sup> Representing Polyphemus with his flocks, Galatea on a dolphin, and a serpent twining up a tree, the symbol of the local genius.



*E. Altieri*

FIG. 14. VICIRA, MOTHER OF BALBUS (MARBLE)



*E. Alinari*

FIG. 15. LUCIUS MAMMIUS MAXIMUS

frescoes. From here there is an exit, connecting this part of the house with the Tuscan atrium (F), which was also adorned with fine frescoes.

Opening into the atrium was the tablinum (H), and around it were several handsome rooms.

When first discovered the large peristyle had still a wooden architrave, and above it the mosaic floors of a second storey with a portion of the walls adorned with frescoes, the whole rising to a height of over thirty feet. This storey consisted of a number of small rooms (*cœnacula*); some of the windows overlooked the garden, and some a small terrace<sup>1</sup> (*solarium*). Here were probably the bedrooms and also the store-rooms, as quantities of vegetables, fruits and grains were found.<sup>2</sup> There were also kitchen utensils, and a bronze sistrum, which perhaps indicates the taste of the owner of the house for oriental rites, busts of *Apollo* and *Diana*,<sup>3</sup> and four heads of satyrs.

Here, as elsewhere, the eruption had so shaken

<sup>1</sup> See Ruggiero, *op. cit.*, Tav. xii.

<sup>2</sup> There were found here nuts, plumstones, almonds, dried figs, poppies, cheese, rice, lentils, beans, oil, honey. These are to be seen, blackened, but otherwise in a natural condition in the museum. Also a gold bracelet with a double-headed serpent and an earring were found.

<sup>3</sup> Cat. 25492-3.



the walls of this upper storey, that it had to be destroyed to save the rest, and the various restorations attempted by supplying some of the missing parts of the brick columns, and replacing the ancient wooden and carbonised architraves by new ones, proved unavailing. Little of these restorations can now be seen.<sup>1</sup>

On the pilasters of both the peristyles of this house there could be seen, at the time of discovery, some *graffiti*, *i.e.* rude sketches and letters scratched on the stucco with a nail. One of them appeared to represent a gladiator.

**The House of Aristides.**—Next to the House of Argus is the so-called House of Aristides (L), which might be better named, with Zahn, the House of Perseus, since it was in the tablinum of this house that was discovered the interesting fresco of *Perseus slaying Medusa*.

This house has several underground rooms, one containing a furnace, and another, which probably served as a family chapel (*lararium*), an altar. Round the large Tuscan atrium are some good-sized rooms with floors of black and white mosaic.

<sup>1</sup> Bonucci, letter of January 27, 1851.

The whole house is in a rather ruined condition, and seems to be on a somewhat different plan from the ordinary Pompeian house. Amid the half-obliterated frescoes we can discern something that looks like the *Punishment of Dirce*, and a few masks and garlands.

**The House of the Skeleton.**—On the opposite side of the street is the House of the Skeleton (N), so called from the skeleton found, in one of the then existing upper rooms, in February 1831.

The house has a portico on the street, a large peristyle with walls painted dark blue (a very rare colour), an exhedra and a Tuscan atrium. In its nymphaeum<sup>1</sup> it possesses a feature almost unique in a private house.

This nymphaeum is a little room with a pavement of inlaid marble and a fountain in the centre. Let into either wall are rectangular basins 15 inches (40 centimetres) deep, once covered with marble, and traces are still left of the lead pipe whence the water flowed.

The rough walls of pounded brick have a narrow mosaic frieze divided into squares containing little figures, goats, and garlands.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ruggiero, *op. cit.*, Tav. xii.

This room was probably used for preserving fish.

Further down the street, which descends steeply to the sea, on the left, are some buildings in a ruinous condition. We can distinguish a Tuscan atrium, paved in *opus signinum*, with a square compluvium and remains of a well head.

As we come to the place where was the ancient sea coast,<sup>1</sup> we find some vaulted rooms (P), very large and solid, but somewhat dilapidated, which probably served as shops, storehouses, offices and taverns for sailors. We find no traces of a wall<sup>2</sup> here, and it seems probable that at Herculaneum as at Pompeii, a space was left open to afford easy approach to the sea.

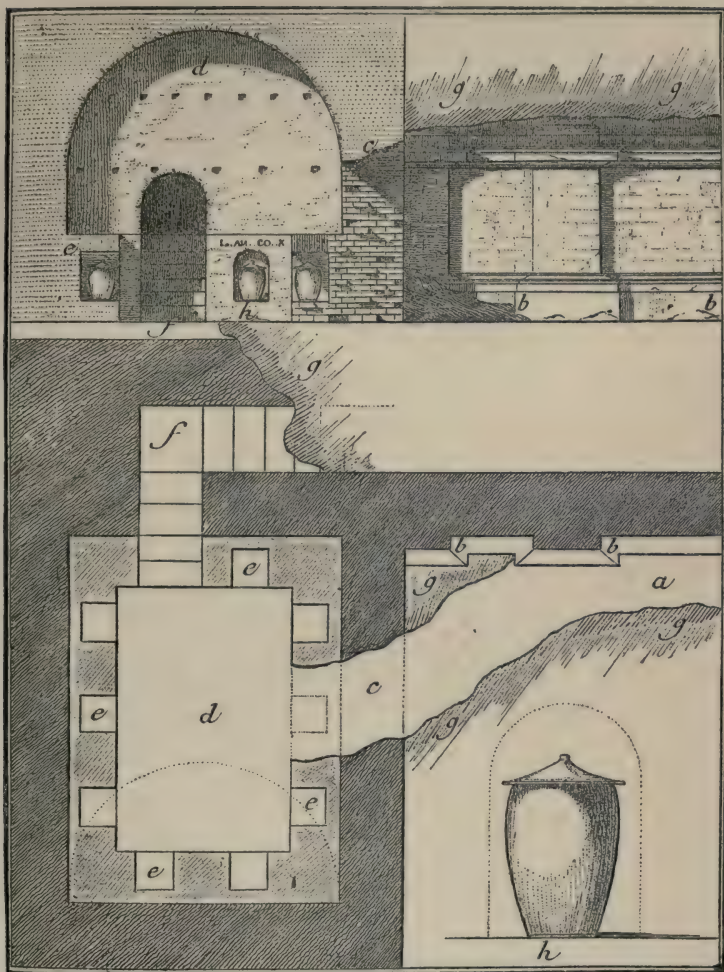
A few human skeletons and bones of animals were found here. It is probable that here as at Stabiae an ineffectual attempt was made to escape by sea.

There is little to call for remark in the remaining houses. That next the House of the Skeleton had a frieze in fresco and a small medallion-like fresco of a woman's bust and a cupid.

In another we have small frescoes and mosaics, a

<sup>1</sup> See chap. iv. The sea has retreated nearly 1000 feet (300 metres) since the eruption of A.D. 79.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. iv.



[After Cochén and Bellicard, 1754]

PLAN 9. THE COLUMBARIUM: SECTION AND PLAN

*a* Tunnel of approach. *b*. Pedestal of wall. *c*. Place where wall was pierced. *d*. Vaulted room. *e*. Niches. *f*. Staircase. *g*. Mud and lava. *h*. Urns for ashes.



great basin for cold baths and traces of a second storey.

Professor De Petra has recently expressed the opinion that, in the event of fresh excavations being undertaken, the most promising site would be that district known as Bisogno, near the modern main street leading to Torre del Greco, and at Ferrara, where the portion of a bath has already been discovered ; thence proceeding to Correale, which lies south of Vicolo di Mare.

**The Columbarium.**<sup>1</sup>—In 1750, while digging at Moscardino, to the south-east of the Theatre, the workmen were suddenly stopped by a wall, with another wall, adorned with pilasters, running at right angles to it.

They pierced the wall and found themselves in an underground vaulted room,<sup>2</sup> entered by a ladder and measuring 12 by 9 feet (3·6 by 2·7 metres). Round the room was a bench, 3 feet (·9 metres) in height, and in it nine niches for cinerary urns ; some of these were found in position and some were still covered with the lids of earthenware. Against one of the walls was a little altar.

<sup>1</sup> Bellicard described this in 1750. Weber's description of November 17, 1750, probably refers to the same building.

<sup>2</sup> Plan 9.



Over three of the urns we read in rude letters that here was the last resting-place of the Nonius family.<sup>1</sup>

The building is obviously a Columbarium very similar to some in the neighbourhood of Rome, though much smaller.

<sup>1</sup> Chap. xvi.

## CHAPTER XI

### THE PAPYRI

The appearance of the rolls—Place where found—  
Chemical experiments — Character of the rolls —  
Hayter's facsimiles—The *Collectio Prior* and *Collectio Altera*—The original Library.

**Appearance of the rolls.**—A large number of papyri, after being buried eighteen centuries, have been found in the Villa named after them. In appearance the rolls resembled lumps of charcoal ;<sup>1</sup> and many were thrown away as such. Some were much lighter in colour. Finally, a faint trace of letters was seen on one of the blackened masses, which was found to be a roll of papyrus, disintegrated by decay and damp, full of holes, cut, crushed, and crumpled. The papyri were found at a depth of about 120 feet (36 metres). The woodwork

<sup>1</sup> For the scientific facts as to the carbonisation of these rolls, see Sir Humphry Davy in *Philosophical Transactions* 1821, p. 197.



*G. Progi*

FIG. 16. ARCHAISTIC PALLAS (MARBLE)



*G. Frogi*

FIG. 17. ARCHAIC APOLLO

of some of the presses that had contained them dropped to dust on exposure and many rolls were found lying about loosely. Others were still on the shelves.

**Locality of the discovery.**—They were found in four different places on four different occasions.

The first were found in the autumn of 1752, fourteen years after the first discovery of Herculaneum, in and near the tablinum, and only numbered some 21 volumes and fragments, contained in two wooden cases.

In the spring of 1753, 11 papyri were found in a room just south of the tablinum, and in the summer of the same year, 250 were found in a room to the north.

In the spring and summer of the following year, 337 Greek papyri and 18 Latin papyri were found in the Library. Nothing of any importance was discovered after this date. The numbers given here exclude mere fragments. Including every tiny fragment found, the catalogues give 1756 manuscripts discovered up to 1855, while subsequent discoveries bring the total up to 1806. Of these, 341 were found almost entire, 500 were merely charred fragments, and the remaining 965



were in every intermediate state of disintegration.<sup>1</sup>

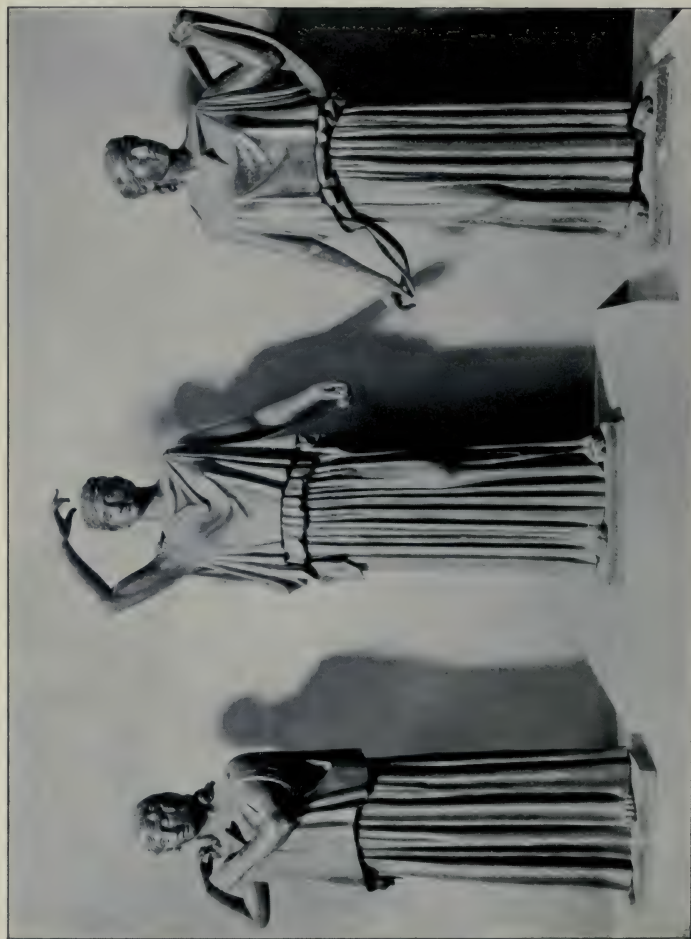
**Treatment of the rolls.**—No one knew how to deal with such strange material. Weber, the engineer, and Paderni, the keeper of the Museum at Portici, were not experts in palæography and philology, which sciences were, indeed, almost in their infancy one hundred and fifty years ago.

There were no official publications concerning the papyri till forty years after their discovery, and our information is of necessity incomplete, inexact and contradictory.

**Father Piaggio's machine.**—Through this inevitable ignorance of the time, a larger number of the rolls were destroyed than the difficulties of the case necessitated. Many had been thrown away as mere charcoal; some were destroyed in extracting them from the lava in which they were embedded. In the attempt to discover their contents, several were split in two longitudinally. Finally, that ingenious Italian monk, Father Piaggio, invented a very simple machine for unrolling the manuscripts by means of silk threads

<sup>1</sup> For a complete analysis of their condition, see A. de Jorio, *Officina de' Papiri descritta*.





*E. Alinari*

FIG. 18. THE ACTRESSES OR DANCERS



*E. Alinari*

FIG. 19. THE ACTRESSES OR DANCERS





attached to the edge of the papyrus.<sup>1</sup> Of course this method destroyed the beginning of all the papyri: sometimes the end could not be found, and the papyri were in a terrible state of decay. Yet a great measure of success attended this method which is in use at the present moment in Naples Museum for opening such papyri as still lie in their original condition.

As each portion of the papyrus was unrolled, it was glued on to a piece of membrane. It required four or five hours to unroll one inch. This prepared portion of the papyrus was then pasted on linen and copied. Copperplate engravings were then made from these copies, ready for publication.

**Chemical experiments.**—The method, however, was very slow; and many years later attempts were made to open the rolls by chemical means. In 1818 Sir Humphry Davy<sup>2</sup> was working in England and in Naples, but met with only partial success. The German, Sickler,<sup>3</sup> who worked on the rolls in the Bodleian from 1817 to 1819 under a Commission of distinguished men presided over by Lord Castlereagh, destroyed seven of the rolls.

<sup>1</sup> For a complete account of this process see A. de Jorio, *op. cit.*, and Boot, *Notice sur les manuscrits trouvés à Herculanum*.

<sup>2</sup> *Phil. Trans.* 1821, p. 191.

<sup>3</sup> Report of the Parliamentary Committee, March 19, 1818.

Other attempts met with a similar fate, and a return was made to the safer methods of Piaggio.

For a hundred and twenty-two years, from 1754 to 1876, the work was carried on, with more or less vigour, in the Office of the Papyri at Portici. It was almost entirely in the hands of Italian scholars and of workmen, who had acquired the delicate manipulation necessary. The cost of the work is estimated at over £80,000.

Whatever criticisms we may make on inaccuracies in point of scholarship and errors of judgment, we cannot but be grateful to these first labourers in the field, who accomplished with patience, skill and learning a work of infinite difficulty.

**Character of the rolls.**—The rolls were all fairly uniform in size. The diameter was from 2 to 3 inches (5 to 7·5 cent.), the average height about 6 inches (15 cent.). The writing is on successive sheets of papyrus<sup>1</sup> glued together, in columns parallel to the shorter side of the papyrus sheet; the width of the column varies from 2½ to 4 inches (6·2 to 10 cent.). The number of lines in a column

<sup>1</sup> The papyrus is a reed-like, umbelliferous plant growing in Egypt and Southern Italy, of which the pith is used in manufacture.



FIG. 20. ATHENE GORGOLOPHA (MARBLE)



*G. Brøgt*

FIG. 21. HEAD OF AN AMAZON

is from 45 to 50. The longest manuscript contains about 160 columns. The papyri were rolled together towards the middle from the short ends, and usually had no stick (*umbilicus*). We have pictures of these papyri in many frescoes at Pompeii and Herculaneum.<sup>1</sup>

On the last page of some of the rolls there is an indication of the number of the columns and lines, probably for the guidance of the scribe. The former usually number 100, the latter from 2000 to 3000. As a matter of fact, the number of lines to a column is always more than the number indicated.

The labels, with titles, which were attached to such rolls, have all been destroyed. The ink used, when subjected to chemical test, proved quite unlike the ink in use now.

The rolls are written in uncials, in very various hands: some manuscripts contain a good many inaccuracies: one contains some very curious abbreviations and spellings,<sup>2</sup> and there are in all some thirty words unknown to Liddell and Scott.

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 57, and *cf.* Bayardi, vol. 7, Plate 237, and vol. 4 (several plates). *Cf.* Cat. 4675-6 frescoes, in Naples Museum.

<sup>2</sup> *Collectio Prior*, vol. 6, Philodemus: *On the Method of the Life of the Gods*.



**Papyri actually existing.**—When we consider the fatality to which the papyri were exposed, we can realise that the number available for publication forms a small proportion of the total of 1806, or even of the 341 rolls found entire.

Of the original papyri still existing, the bulk are in the Naples Museum. There are 900 rolls still unopened. The Neapolitan Government presented six rolls to Napoleon Buonaparte in 1806,<sup>1</sup> and eighteen unopened rolls<sup>2</sup> to George, Prince of Wales, four of which he presented to the Bodleian Library in 1810.

**British Museum Rolls.**—The remainder are in the British Museum. There are four rolls in the condition in which they were found. They are much contorted, and resemble in colour and form the bark of a cork tree.<sup>3</sup> They measure from  $5\frac{1}{2}$  to  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches (13·9 to 19 cent.) in length, and the circumference is from  $5\frac{1}{2}$  to  $8\frac{1}{4}$  inches (13·7 to

<sup>1</sup> Catalogue numbers in Martini: 148, 171, 184, 185, 205, 1009.

<sup>2</sup> The catalogue numbers of these rolls given by Martini are: (1) Rolls in England, 149, 161, 172, 174, 192, 1120, 1125, 1154, 1445, 1456, 1458, 1460, 1462, 1464, 1470, 1474. There appear to be two unaccounted for.

<sup>3</sup> Three of them are numbered 1120, 1125, 1464, in the Catalogue of the rolls. They are numbered Papyrus cxviii. in the British Museum Catalogue.



*E. Alinari*

FIG. 22. DIONYSUS OR PLATO (? POSEIDON)



20·9 cent.). These were given by George IV. A similar roll was presented to the Museum by the King in 1906.<sup>1</sup>

The Museum also possesses some papyri which have been unrolled. One<sup>2</sup> is a fragment by Epicurus, *On Nature*, given by the late Queen in 1865. The membrane on which the fragments were glued can be distinctly seen. The papyrus is 9 inches wide, and contains probably about four columns of writings: it is almost impossible to perceive any characters on the blackened sheet before us.

Seven strips of papyrus<sup>3</sup> similar to the fragment of Epicurus were given by the King in 1906. Each strip measures  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches across, and the columns on each strip measure 3 inches, as far as it is possible to judge.

Of these originals many were too fragmentary for publication, though pencil copies have been made, and in some cases engraved on copper plate. These facsimiles are to be found in the Museum Archives in Naples, and are almost entirely the work of Italian scholars.

<sup>1</sup> Pap. 1522 in the Museum Catalogue.

<sup>2</sup> Pap. cxvii.

<sup>3</sup> Pap. 1521.

**Hayter's facsimiles.**—An Englishman, the Rev. John Hayter, was sent out (with the permission of the Neapolitan Government) in 1802 by George, Prince of Wales, at his own expense, to superintend the *Officina de' Papyri*.

Though not a great scholar, he did useful work, from 1802 to 1806, in unrolling and deciphering some two hundred papyri, and making facsimiles in pencil and on copper. The French Invasion of 1806 put an end to his labours, and much of his work fell into the invaders' hands.

The 96 pencil facsimiles<sup>1</sup> he brought to England are now in the Bodleian Library, together with his copperplates and manuscripts of the texts.

**Publication of the Papyri:** "**Collectio Prior**" and "**Collectio Altera.**"—All the papyri of any importance, and six volumes of fragments of very little importance, have been published in Naples in two great editions. The *Collectio Prior*, in ten volumes, appeared during the years 1793–1850, and contained facsimiles of nineteen fairly complete manuscripts. On the left-hand pages the manu-

<sup>1</sup> Duplicates of these facsimiles are in the Naples Museum, but are inferior to the Oxford facsimiles, since the latter were made at a much earlier date, before the fragile papyri had still further perished by exposure.



scripts are reproduced in facsimile : on the opposite pages are two columns, one containing the text in ordinary Greek type, the other a Latin translation. The work is marred by many inaccuracies, by lengthy dissertations and irrelevant notes, and the publication, which was a pressing matter, was delayed forty years.

This was followed, after a long interval, by the *Collectio Altera* in 1862. Its eleven volumes were not completed until 1876. The fact that these eleven volumes contained facsimiles of 176 papyri shows the fragmentary condition of the manuscripts, even taking into account the fact that the volumes contain facsimiles only. In spite of the progress of learning during those seventy years, these volumes show no advance whatsoever, in point of scholarship, over their predecessors. The *Collectio Altera* contains 2232 plates of facsimiles.

Excellent work<sup>1</sup> has been done in cataloguing, publishing, and criticising the papyri by Oxford scholars, by Professor Gomperz of Vienna, and by German scholars.

**The original Library.**—Though it is difficult to reckon accurately, the original Library probably contained something like 800 volumes, as far as we

<sup>1</sup> See Bibliography.

can judge from what remains, though the actual number of works was much less, since a volume of papyrus never contained more than one "book" of a work. Many of the works were in several volumes; for example, Epicurus *On Nature* numbered no less than 37 books, and the Library contains three copies of it. There are also two or more copies of several works, so that the actual number of works in the Library may be reckoned at something less than two hundred.

**The contents of the Library.**—The contents are extremely disappointing. Excluding about twenty papyri, the Library consists entirely of works in Greek on the Epicurean philosophy. With the exception of the few fragments remaining of Epicurus, they are quite third-rate in character. Three-fourths of the books are by a certain Philodemus.<sup>1</sup> We have titles to 69 volumes only, as the labels with the titles have all perished, and the first page of every roll was of necessity lost in the process of opening. As, however, the title was written also on the last page of the roll, we are not in total ignorance as to the author and title of the works before us. The books treat of such subjects as *The Vices and the Virtues*, *Death*

<sup>1</sup> On Philodemus, see chap. ix.





*G. Frogi*

FIG. 23. HEAD OF THE DORYPHORUS



*G. Brugi*

FIG. 24. IDEAL HEAD (MARBLE)





*Life and Morals, The Nature of the Gods<sup>1</sup> Wealth, Rhetoric.* The most complete manuscript, and that first published, is *On Music*, containing some 1710 lines. That on *Rhetoric* contains 112 columns. Among the remaining works we have fragments of Epicurus, of Metrodorus, the Epicurean, and one single fragment by a Stoic, Chrysippus. There are no Greek rolls later than the period of Philodemus.

**The Latin manuscripts.**—Besides these Greek manuscripts, 21 Latin papyri were found, nearly all together in a wooden case (*capsa*), as well as many fragments.

They are so ruined by the damp as to be almost undecipherable, though we can see the beauty of some of the writing from the fragments. They appear to treat of history, poetry and rhetoric. Possibly they were added later to the library. One, however, is legible in parts and, from its subject, much later than Philodemus. It is interesting to scholars as the only Latin manuscript we possess earlier than the destruction of Herculaneum. It is a Latin poem in hexameters, treating of the exploits of Mark Antony in Egypt.<sup>2</sup> In

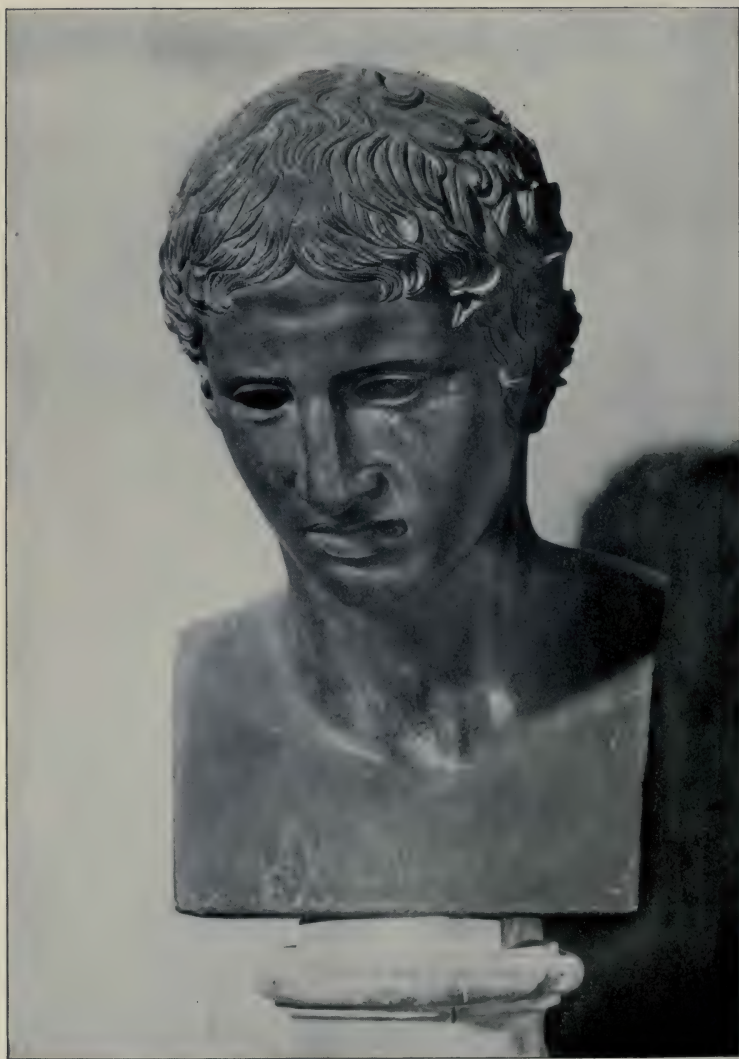
<sup>1</sup> This bears a close resemblance to Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*.

<sup>2</sup> *Carmen de Augusti bello aegyptico*, Coll. Prior.

size it is larger than the Greek manuscripts ; we have remaining eight columns of it : the columns are nearly 8 inches (20 cent.) across, and there are seven lines in a column. The number of columns yielded by the papyri is 2366 : of these we have only 40 columns of Latin.

Scholars are still at work in Naples on those manuscripts which have not yet been deciphered, and in some cases not even unrolled. Pencil facsimiles are made of the writing, and these are engraved on copperplate with a view to the publication of yet a third edition of the papyri.





*E. Altinovi*

FIG. 25. IDEAL HEAD





*G. Brogi*

FIG. 26. HEAD OF A YOUTH



## CHAPTER XII

### THE GREEK SCULPTURES

Busts from the Villa—Sculpture of the sixth century—  
Sculpture of the fifth century—Sculpture of the  
fourth century—Sculpture of the second century.

Erat Italia tunc plena Graecarum artium ac disciplinarum.  
Cicero : *Pro. Arch.* 3.

**Periods of the sculptures.**—The statues and busts of Herculaneum give us types, either originals or copies, of works of art ranging from the sixth century B.C. in an unbroken series down to almost the end of the first century of our era.

From the Theatre and Basilica come almost exclusively portraits of the imperial family and of municipal dignitaries of Herculaneum. The single exception is the magnificent *Bronze Horse*,<sup>1</sup> which once must have formed part of a chariot group, and which can only be compared for beauty with the famous horses of St. Mark's, in Venice.

From the House of the Papyri, however, come

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 9, Cat. 4904.

the vast bulk of the treasures consisting of many original Greek works and some excellent copies.

Among the treasures of sculpture in Naples Museum, derived from many sources, it is not always easy to distinguish those which come from Herculaneum. With regard to the few large bronzes and marbles from the Theatre and Basilica there is little doubt, but there is some confusion with regard to the many busts from the Villa.

**Busts from the Villa.**—Our knowledge of the busts in that Villa is derived from :

(1) Contemporary documentary evidence.<sup>1</sup>

(2) The publication of reproductions by Bayardi.<sup>1</sup>

(3) The statues themselves in Naples Museum.

We are thus able to compile a list of works and places whence they came with accuracy in all essential details, though a few errors have crept in from mistakes in the documents, from ignorance of the true topography of the locality, from unfounded identifications of statues, and from the fact that the Naples Museum is a collection of monuments gathered from many sources other than Herculaneum. With regard to the bronze statues and

<sup>1</sup> See Bibliography.



*G. Brogi*

FIG. 27. MERCURY IN REPOSE





busts, the contemporary documents state that there were discovered twenty-two large bronze busts, and eight small ones in all, but give a list<sup>1</sup> containing only sixteen large ones, and another<sup>2</sup> containing eight small ones.

The Academicians<sup>3</sup> give a list of eleven large ones, and eight small ones, which agrees with lists A and B as far as it goes, except in two small variations as to date.<sup>4</sup>

The Academicians, however, give another list<sup>5</sup> of nine bronze busts in addition to the lists we possess. As the contemporary documents are certainly correct in their numbers, we have three statues too many, which, coming from some other place, have been erroneously attributed to Herculanum.

Also List C is our only authority for the identification of six of our statues. Now from List C we can at once exclude No. 3,<sup>6</sup> called *Aemilius Lepidus*. It has been identified as the head of Trajan, who lived years after the eruption.

<sup>1</sup> See List A in the Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> See List B in the Appendix.

<sup>3</sup> See Bibliography.

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.*, dates of Nos. 3 and 9 on List A.

<sup>5</sup> See List C in the Appendix.

<sup>6</sup> Bayardi, *Le Antichità di Ercolano* . . . , p. 170, Plate 227.

Further, the head was found quite near the surface.

We must also exclude No. 6 on the same list, known as the *Emperor Gaius Caligula, Young Augustus*, or *Young Tiberius*, as we have positive information that it was found in 1752 near the sea, under the farmhouse of Bisogno.<sup>1</sup> It probably came from the Basilica.

The small bust of *Epicurus*, too, seems not to belong to Herculaneum.<sup>2</sup>

Having thus defined with fair accuracy the sculptures we possess, we may pass on to consider the historic and artistic value of the busts and the other sculptures of the Villa.

**Sixth century: Archaistic Pallas; Statue of a Boy.**—The earliest type of sculpture is represented in Herculaneum by a copy, the marble statue of the *Archaistic Pallas*,<sup>3</sup> from the tablinum of the Villa. In this we have an example of the Attic school of the sixth century, with its exquisite and elaborate drapery, and decorative treatment of detail. When found, this statue had traces of gilding on the head and pallium. It resembles

<sup>1</sup> Paderni's *Register*, Oct. 26, 1762: confirmed by La Vega; reproduced in Bayardi, *op. cit.*, Plate 280.

<sup>2</sup> For details see Comparetti, *op. cit.* p. 258.

<sup>3</sup> Fig. 16, Cat. 6007.





*E. Alinari*

FIG. 28. THE WRESTLER



*E. Alinari*

FIG. 29. THE WRESTLER





many other well-known archaic and archaistic figures, notably an *Artemis*<sup>1</sup> from Pompeii.

To this period, but rather of the Argive type of art, belongs the marble *Statue of a Boy*,<sup>2</sup> found in the extreme west of the garden of the Villa. It recalls some curious archaic bronze figures found in south Italy in 1872.<sup>3</sup>

**Early fifth century: Archaic Apollo.**—The earliest original bronze we have belongs to the beginning of the fifth century B.C., that brief transition period separating the true archaic work from the art of Phidias of the fifth century. The art centres of that period were Aegina, Argos and Sicyon. The work is still rigid, as may be seen in the *Strangford Apollo*,<sup>4</sup> and the sculptures of the pediment at Aegina. Precisely of this type is the bronze head known as the *Archaic Apollo*,<sup>5</sup> that came from the east portico of the garden of the Villa. It is full of vigour and vitality: the whole work is realistic, concise and finished with

<sup>1</sup> Cat. 6008. There is a cast of this in the British Museum, Cat. 60.

<sup>2</sup> Cat. 6105, reproduced by Comparetti, *op. cit.*, Tav. xix. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Petersen, *Ist. Arch. Germ.* 1891, p. 270.

<sup>4</sup> British Museum, Cat. 206, and very many others of similar type quoted by Rayet, *Monuments de l'Art Antique*.

<sup>5</sup> Fig. 17, Cat. 5516.

the utmost delicacy. The cheekbones and chin are prominent, and the curved lips strongly cut; the hair is indicated by wavy lines, and the curious spiral curls that hang over the brow were fixed on after the statue was complete.

**Early fifth century: The Dancers.**—As we enter the room of the Herculaneum bronzes our eye is at once arrested by the five stately figures that once stood in the portico of the garden, and are known as *The Dancers*.<sup>1</sup> Whatever they represent in reality,<sup>2</sup> we may well imagine the artist to have been inspired by the sight of the Dorian maidens dancing with solemn gesture and rhythmic step in the holy wood of Artemis Caryatis, at her great annual festival. The forms are somewhat massive and the pose severe. The maidens wear the Doric peplos, which falls in straight deep folds to their feet, while the *diploïs*, falling over the girdle in comparatively free folds, shows the curve of the breast beneath the stuff. The feet are flat on the ground, but in two of the statues the left knee is slightly bent, and in two, the right. The

<sup>1</sup> Figs. 18, 19, Cat. 5604–5, 5619–20, 21. The right arm, head, and part of the breast in 5620 are restorations.

<sup>2</sup> It is just possible they are the *Women adorning themselves* by the Peloponnesian artist, Apellas, of whom Pliny speaks, H. N. xxxiv, 86. Apellas flourished B.C. 410–380.





*G. Brogi*

FIG. 30. THE SLEEPING FAUN



*E. Altieri*

FIG. 31. THE DRUNKEN FAUN





wealth of motive and subtlety in the treatment of the hair is very remarkable, and the white eyeballs, if they scarcely add to the beauty, certainly impart a startling realism to these slightly archaic figures. It is difficult to believe that these are copies.<sup>1</sup> Originals or copies, they are the product of that great Dorian school which loved especially to represent young athletes and which, in the working of its chosen medium, bronze, attained a vigour, restraint, delicacy and precision that favourably influenced the somewhat over-elaborate early Attic school, which we see represented in the *Archaistic Pallas*.

The dress fixes the date pretty accurately. The Doric peplos only became general in Peloponnesian art towards the end of the sixth century. The position of the girdle under the *diplois* (and not over it, as is seen in the middle of the century) and the comparative freedom of the folds of the garments, which are severely symmetrical in earlier statues of this type, would place these figures early in the fifth century.

<sup>1</sup> Julius, *Jahrbuch*, 1878, p. 14; and Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, who adduces the plinth, the buttons on the shoulders and the general technique as a proof. Haussoulier and Collignon and Rayet in *Monuments de l'Art Antique*, believe them to be originals of the early fourth century.

They are thus earlier than Phidias, and have affinities with the *Hestia Giustiniani* of the Museo Torlonia.<sup>1</sup> One of them closely resembles a figure on the east pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia,<sup>2</sup> and several small bronzes, and even a fresco in Herculaneum are obviously copied from them. The sixth and smaller figure, of precisely the same period and workmanship, is usually known as the *Praying Child*.<sup>3</sup>

These beautiful figures have scarcely received from critics the recognition due to them.

**Fifth century: Athene Gorgolopha.**—To the Phidian period belongs the marble head of the *Athene Gorgolopha*,<sup>4</sup> with long hair flowing beneath the helmet. It may be compared with the *Lemnian Athene*,<sup>5</sup> and with a beautiful head in the Villa Albani,<sup>6</sup> and with the replica of the *Amazon*, also from this villa. The bust stood in the garden. There is, in Naples Museum, another marble head

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cast in the British Museum, Cat. 55.

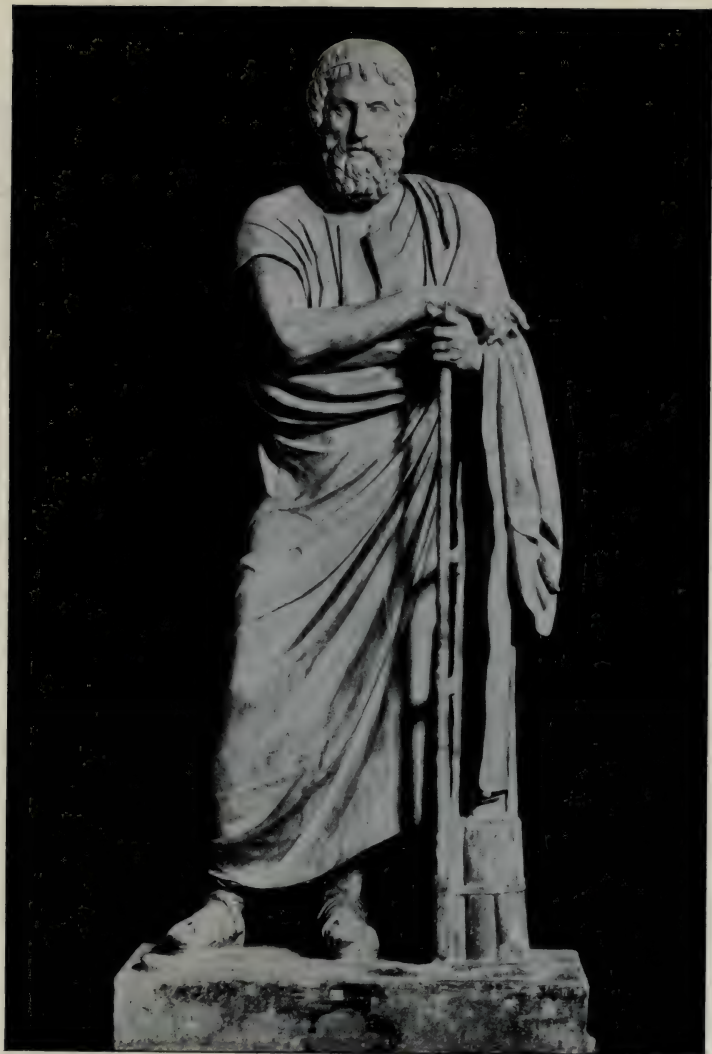
<sup>2</sup> Collignon, *La Sculpture Grecque*, Plates 7–8.

<sup>3</sup> Cat. 5603.

<sup>4</sup> Fig. 20, Cat. 6322; see Munich Gallery, No. 86 for a replica of a work of the same subject and period; and cf. *Bull. della Com. Arch. di Roma*, 1881, p. 225 for a similar head in relief.

<sup>5</sup> Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke* . . . , Plate iii.

<sup>6</sup> No. 63.



*G. Brogi*

32. HOMER (MARBLE)



*G. Brogi*

FIG. 33. "PTOLEMY ALEXANDER" (? ALEXANDER THE GREAT)

very similar, which may have come from Herculanæum.<sup>1</sup>

**Fifth century: Head of an Amazon.**—Belonging to the fifth century is the bronze *Head of an Amazon*,<sup>2</sup> which stood in an angle of the peristyle of the villa, in company with the *Doryphorus*. The head is very powerful: the thick wavy masses of the parted hair are tucked up behind: the lips are full and strongly arched: the eyeballs, as is usual in Herculanæum bronzes, have been restored. Phidias, Polyclitus, Crisilas, and Phradmon each made an Amazon in competition for the great Temple of Artemis at Ephesus,<sup>3</sup> about the year B.C. 440. Polyclitus was awarded the first place, and Phidias the second. Of these statues we have copies more or less complete. The headless statue<sup>4</sup> in the Vatican, known as the Mattei type, has been attributed to Phidias, the *Amazon* of Lansdowne House to Polyclitus. Some authorities would attribute the Herculanæum bronze to the Lansdowne type, though Furtwängler believes

<sup>1</sup> Cat. 6282. Cf. Wolters, *Jahrbuch*, 1894.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 21, Cat. 4889.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny, H. N. xxxiv. 53.

<sup>4</sup> Furtwängler asserts the present restored head does not belong to it. For the whole very complicated question, see Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, pp. 128–141.



it to be of the type of the head which is missing in the Mattei statue.<sup>1</sup>

**Fifth century: Plato or Dionysus.**—One of the loveliest of the bronze busts is the so-called *Plato*<sup>2</sup> or *Dionysus*.

The head does not resemble the busts usually accepted as portraits of Plato, and the style would seem to place it at a much earlier date than Plato. Both Furtwängler and Lenormant<sup>3</sup> believe it to be an original of the fifth century.

The head, which came from a room south of the tablinum, seems once to have formed part of a statue. The firm and delicate modelling of cheek and brow, and the technique of the whole work is a revelation of method. The very chisel-marks

<sup>1</sup> Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, ii. 332, and Michaelis, *Jahrbuch*, 1886, say the Mattei head belongs to the statue.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 22, Cat. 5618. Cf. Collignon, *La Sculpture grecque*, ii. 346.

<sup>3</sup> *La Grande Grèce*, i. 90; and cf. *Jahrbuch*, 1890, 104, where it is connected with the *Idolino* and the School of Myron of the middle of the fifth century, though the *Idolino* is rather of the type of Polyclitus. The *Plato* resembles a beautiful marble head, called *Asclepius* in the Museo delle Terme, Rome. The original of this copy, which was probably a bronze, is attributed to the fourth or fifth century by Savignon, *Ist. Arch. Germ.* 1901, 373. It is also very like a terra-cotta from Tarentum, *Ist. Arch. Germ.* 1900, Plate 2.





*E. Alinari*

FIG. 34. "PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS"



*G. Frogi*

FIG. 35. "PTOLEMY SOTER I." (? SELEUCUS NICATOR I )



can be seen on the exquisitely finished beard, and on the thick hair, tucked up like that of the *Lemnian Athene*, with the broad fillet binding the brow and pressing into the abundant masses of hair.

As to the identification of the bust, it might well be the head of the god Dionysus, brooding upon the mysteries known only to the initiate, and revealed to the vulgar in the fierce ecstasies of the Bacchic revels.

Lenormant, however, attributes the bust to the great Dorian School, which flourished at Tarentum, and whence so many works of art found their way to Rome when the town was sacked by Fabius Maximus in B.C. 209. He further conjectures, with some probability, that it may represent a Poseidon, a deity especially venerated at Tarentum. Vase paintings<sup>1</sup> and coins<sup>2</sup> of Tarentum certainly show us Poseidons somewhat resembling this head.<sup>3</sup>

**Late fifth-century: Apollo or Head of a Youth.**—We have, probably, another *Apollo* in the bronze bust,<sup>4</sup> from the tablinum of the Villa,

<sup>1</sup> Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, Book iii. and *Atlas*, Plates xi.—xiii.

<sup>2</sup> Sambon, *Monnaies de la presqu' île d'Italie*, Plate xviii., 20.

<sup>3</sup> Collignon, in *Monuments de l'Art Antique*, attributes the head to the fourth century.

<sup>4</sup> Frontispiece, Cat. 5633.



usually called Head of a Youth. Furtwängler attributes it to one of the scholars of Polyclitus, and so it would fall late in the fifth century or early in the fourth. The modelling of the face and shape of the head certainly strongly recall that school, but the work is very individual, and is so full of expression that we forget the exquisite loveliness of brow and cheek in the almost tragic significance in the bent head and intense eyes contrasted with the astonishing vitality of the whole felt even in the wild, wayward locks that cluster upon the neck. Surely never was so true a picture of the god of sunlight, of the god of sudden death, of the god who inspired the raving priestess on her tripod in the cave at Delphi.<sup>1</sup>

**School of Polyclitus of the fifth century: The Doryphorus and the two Ideal Heads.**—To the school of Polyclitus, the contemporary of Phidias, belong three heads. We have first a copy in bronze of the head of that celebrated *Doryphorus*,<sup>2</sup> which became one of the recognised models for all sculptors and was as great an advance on Argive art as were the *Lemnian Athene* and

<sup>1</sup> Martha, in *Monuments de l'Art Antique*, places this bust as late as the second or first century.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 23, Cat. 4885.

the *Parthenos* on Attic. We have many copies of the whole figure, and of the head. Among these is a rather mechanical rendering from Pompeii in the Naples Museum.<sup>1</sup> The bust before us, which stood in the corner of the peristyle of the House of the Paypri is an excellent copy of the original.<sup>2</sup> The base is inscribed with the name of the artist, *Apollonius, the son of Archias, the Athenian*, who lived under Augustus. The face is very lovely and rather expressionless. The jaw is a little heavy, and the hair lies close to the square, flat head and falls round the brow in somewhat straight locks, with two little tufts lying different ways in the middle of the forehead, as in all heads of this school. The eyeballs, which give the face the curious wide-eyed expression, are a modern restoration.

It is probable that this resolute boy's head is a portrait of a victor in the Olympic games, and chance has preserved his likeness for twenty-two centuries.

Almost identical with the *Doryphorus* head, save for the broad fillet binding the locks and

<sup>1</sup> Cat. 6011.

<sup>2</sup> Gardner, however, calls it "A conventional work of the Augustan Age."

falling over the shoulders, is a terminal bust in marble known as an *Ideal Head*<sup>1</sup> which was found in the tablinum of the House of the Papyri. We have the same powerful chin: the hair is rather heavier and less symmetrical in arrangement, and the lips are very full.

Perhaps the loveliest of the three busts is the *Ideal Head*<sup>2</sup> in bronze from the garden of the Villa. It is a little later than the Doryphorus: it has the same full lips, but the chin is small, and the head is drooping to one side with a curious air of brooding melancholy. It resembles the so-called *Vatican Athlete at Rest*,<sup>3</sup> and the *Idolino*, in Florence, though the treatment of the hair is somewhat different. The modelling of the brow is noticeable, and in the protuberance of the lower part resembles the heads of Praxiteles. The head seems to be approaching the Argive types given us by Lysippus, whose style was so much influenced by the art of Polyclitus, and who is the last of the great Greek sculptors. In this school the forms are less severe than in that of Polyclitus and Myron, being longer and more slender, with the heads small and shapely, with close clustering

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 24, Cat. 6164.

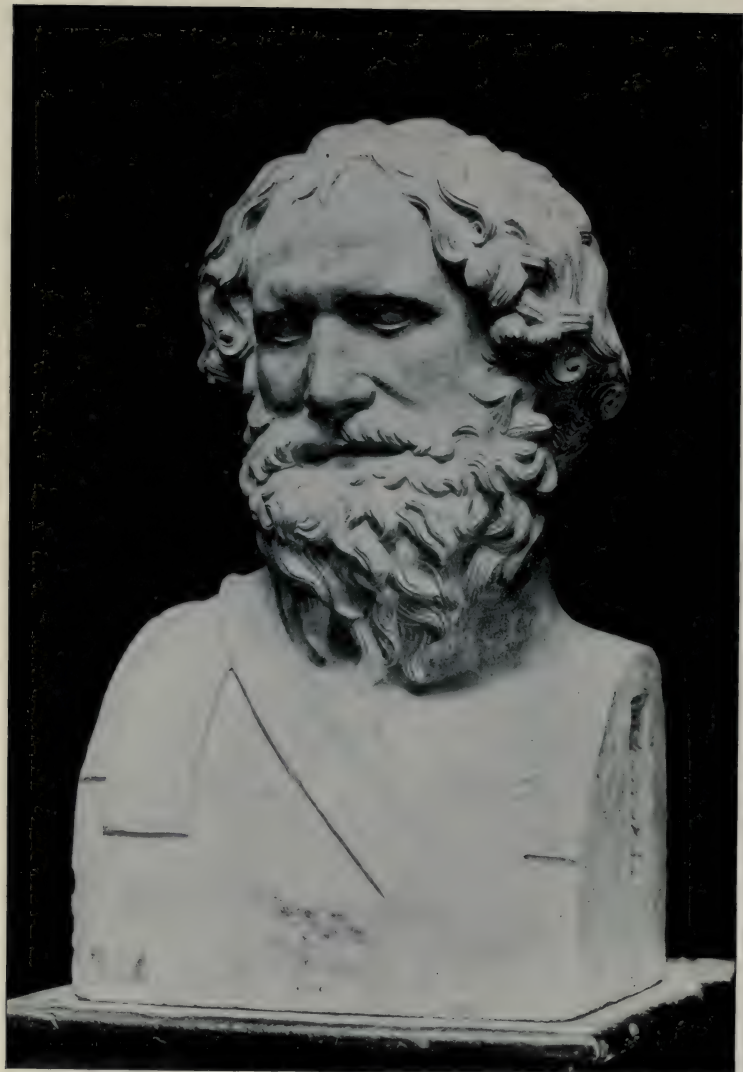
<sup>2</sup> Fig. 25, Cat. 5610.

<sup>3</sup> Furtwängler, *op. cit.* pp. 281, 283.



*G. Brogi*

FIG. 36. HEAD WITH THE WREATHED HELMET (? PYRRHUS OF EPIRUS :  
MARBLE)



G. Progi

FIG. 37. "ARCHIMEDES" (ARCHIDAMUS III. : MARBLE)



locks; the faces too are more delicate and we have the marked protuberance of the lower part of the brow that we noticed in the last head. It would seem that as the restraint and severity of the Peloponnesian school had acted favourably upon Attic art in the fifth century, so the Argive school added the grace of the Athenian sculptors to their own noble types of athletes.

**School of Lysippus of the fourth century: Mercury; The Wrestlers; Head of a Youth.**—To the School of Lysippus belong three statues and a bust, all in bronze. The beautiful *Mercury in Repose*,<sup>1</sup> and the two *Wrestlers*<sup>2</sup> from the garden of the Villa resemble in a striking manner the marble statue of an *Athlete*<sup>3</sup> in the Capitoline Museum, as does the beautiful bronze *Head of a Youth*<sup>4</sup> from the tablinum of the Villa, especially in the pose of the head, the forms and

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 27, Cat. 5625. The head has been restored. There is a copy in the British Museum, Cat. 176. Collignon and Rayet believe this Mercury to be an original.

<sup>2</sup> Figs. 28, 29, Cat. 5626-7.

<sup>3</sup> Discovered in 1872 near Velletri: see *Bull. Della Com. Arch.*, Rome, 1876, p. 68.

<sup>4</sup> Fig. 26, Cat. 5614. Furtwängler, too, places this work in the fourth century, but states it was accomplished under the influence of the fifth, and compares the head with the *Lansdowne Hercules*, which is possibly an early work of Scopas.



proportions of the face, the upper part of the brow, and the little crisp curls, with the two parted locks in the middle.

It is just possible that a very beautiful bronze at Berlin, known as the *Praying Boy*<sup>1</sup> may have come from Herculaneum, and after passing through the hands of Prince Eugene of Savoy, and after many curious vicissitudes, finally reached its present destination. In some respects it resembles this group of works; others have attributed it to the Attic school of the same century, but the resemblance, especially in the position of the body and the proportions, to the *Apoxyomenus* is most striking.

To the fourth and third centuries belong the many portrait busts in the Villa, but, to complete the account of the statues representing imaginary subjects, we may mention here the beautiful *Sleeping Faun*.

**Early second century: the Sleeping Faun.**—We have so many examples of fauns in sculpture and painting, that we can trace the history of the modifications of the type.

<sup>1</sup> For its history cf. Collignon, *La Sculpture grecque*, ii. p. 484, and bibliography, and *Ist. Arch. Germ.* 1901, &c. The number in Berlin Museum is Cat. 2; cf. the copy in the British Museum, Cat. 175.

In the bronze statue of the *Sleeping Faun*<sup>1</sup> from the Villa we have no longer the half-animal type of the satyr prevalent till the fourth century. Neither have we the exquisite wild grace of the *Capitoline Faun* of Praxiteles, but a rather rustic, slightly heavy-limbed creature such as might have been associated with Pan in his more domestic capacity as the keeper of the flocks.

This sculpture is certainly not earlier than the Hellenistic age which produced so many fauns having affinities to the Herculaneum bronze, of which the most celebrated is the *Barberini Faun* in Munich.

The Herculaneum *Faun* is more refined than this realistic figure, and is probably a little later, belonging to quite the end of the third century, or early in the second. The vigour and finish of the work make it probable that this is an original. With this work may be classed the *Drunken Faun*<sup>2</sup> which came from the garden of the Villa.

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 30, Cat. 5624. Cf. Collignon, in *Monuments de l'Art Antique*, and Bulle, *Jahrbuch*, 1901.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 31, Cat. 5628.

## CHAPTER XIII

### HELLENISTIC AND GRÆCO-ROMAN PORTRAITS

(320 B.C.—80 A.D.)

Inscribed heads — Portraits of Alexander and the Ptolemies — Some attempted identifications — The Pseudo-Seneca—Unknown heads—Roman portraits.

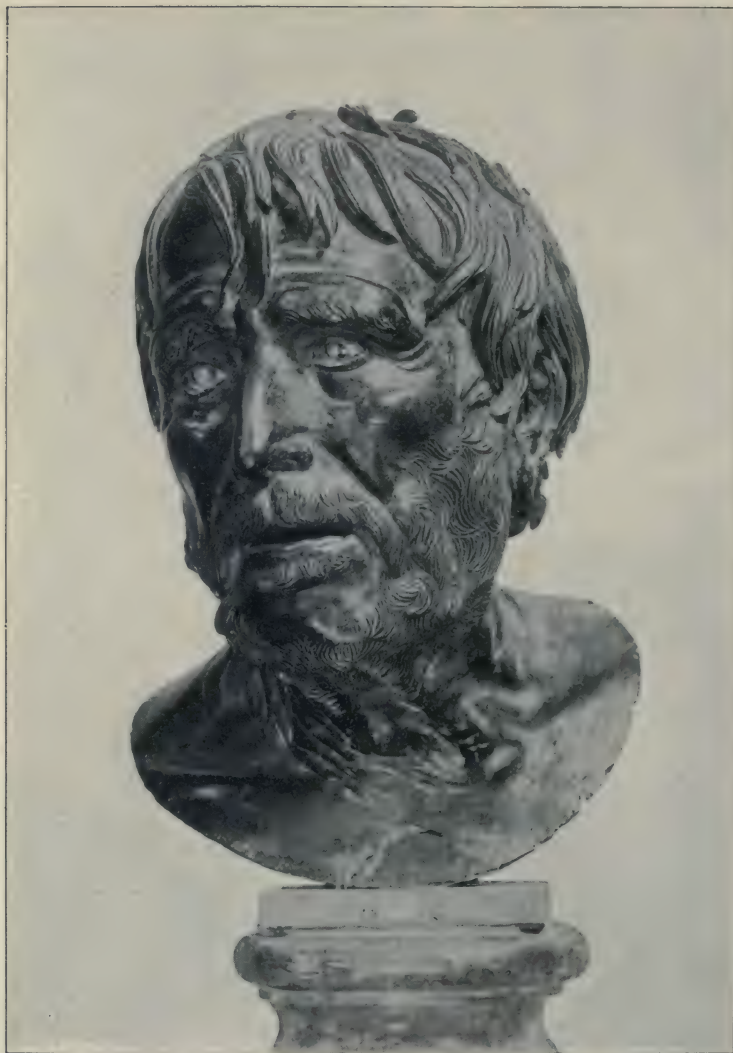
**The Hellenistic portraits.**—To the fourth and third centuries belong most of the many portrait busts which came from the Villa. The increased knowledge of late years makes it possible to identify, as belonging to this school, much work which was formerly labelled Græco-Roman.

It was the school of a transition period, and a school which soon became decadent, in spite of a brilliant civilisation and material success. It was a school, too, that had a perfect passion for portrait busts. In these latter phases of Greek art realism is not entirely absent, and is sometimes the most marked feature. And yet in Greek portraiture we are generally conscious of an effort to express some meaning that lies beyond the individual—



*G. Rygi*

FIG. 38. "ATILIUS REGULUS" (? PHILETAIRUS OF PERGAMUM: MARBLE)



*G. Brogi*

FIG. 39. "PSEUDO-SENECA" (? PHILETAS OF COS)



some reaching after a type—an ideal, that puts the Greek portraits on a different plane from all others.

The Epicurean owner of this princely Villa, be he Lucius Calpurnius Piso or another, surrounded himself not only with the ideal works of the great period of Greek art, but with portraits of philosophers, poets and orators. As to the identity of the portraits, we are almost wholly in the dark.

In no province of archæology does such utter confusion reign as in that of iconography. From the earliest days down to the twentieth century wrong attributions, baseless conjectures, falsification of inscriptions,<sup>1</sup> have obscured the truth. The finest scholars have not been wholly innocent, but the greatest sinners in this respect have been the members of the Naples Academy, whose familiar and false attributions must be retained for purposes of identification.

A few of these busts have in recent years been rechristened, with a certain show of probability, by various German writers,<sup>2</sup> and some of the busts

<sup>1</sup> Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, vi. 1, *odi falsas inscriptiones statuarum alienarum*.

<sup>2</sup> Six, Petersen, Michaelis, Wolters, &c., see Bibliography, *Periodical Publications*.



bear sufficient resemblance to known portraits to enable us with some confidence to attach names to them, or they are actually inscribed with inscriptions apparently authentic.

**Inscribed Heads.**—Such are the four small inscribed bronze busts found in the library of the Villa.<sup>1</sup> They represent three philosophers and an orator, namely, *Epicurus*, *Hermarchus*, *Demosthenes*, and *Zeno of Zidon*.<sup>2</sup>

This Demosthenes<sup>3</sup> bust has served for the basis of identification of all other busts of the orator.

There are in the Villa other busts<sup>4</sup> of Epicurus and Demosthenes, whose resemblance to the inscribed busts renders their identity certain.

The fine marble statues of *Homer*<sup>5</sup> and *Æschines*,<sup>6</sup> and the marble busts of *Anacreon*<sup>7</sup> and *Socrates*<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chap. ix.

<sup>2</sup> Comparetti, *op. cit.* Tav. xii. 4, 7, 8, 9, Cat. 5465–8. For Zeno *cf.* a bust in Naples Museum, Cat. 6182, and Visconti, *Iconographie grecque*, Plates 17, 25, 26.

<sup>3</sup> Michaelis, *Jahrbuch*, 1888, p. 242.

<sup>4</sup> Comparetti, *op. cit.* Tav. xii. 1, 6, xxii. 2, Cat. 5649–70, 6153.

<sup>5</sup> Fig. 32, Cat. 6126.

<sup>6</sup> Comparetti, *op. cit.* xviii. 2, Cat. 6018.

<sup>7</sup> Comparetti, *op. cit.* xxii. 5, Cat. 6162.

<sup>8</sup> Comparetti, *op. cit.* xxii. 1, Cat. 6155.



*G. Brogi*

FIG. 40. (?) BERENICE



(called a *Philosopher* in the catalogue), and the bronze bust of *Metrodorus*,<sup>1</sup> another Epicurean, bear sufficient resemblance to authenticated portraits to make their identification probably correct. All these heads are extremely fine, and some at least, such as the *Æschines*, are Hellenistic copies of more ancient Attic sculpture.

**Portraits of Alexander and the Ptolemies.**—In the heads, identified by the Academicians as various members of the Ptolemy dynasty, we note that fidelity to a type, in spite of individuality of portraiture, of which we have spoken. The original of the type must be sought in the noble idealised heads of Alexander the Great, as depicted by Lysippus and imitated by lesser artists, a type which has so powerfully influenced subsequent art.

In the Villa we have a bronze head known as *Ptolemy Alexander*,<sup>2</sup> which is very like some of the busts of Alexander the Great, as well as the marble head known as *Alexander*.<sup>3</sup> The Ptolemy

<sup>1</sup> Comparetti, *op. cit.* xii. 2, Cat. 5471.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 33, Cat. 5596, *cf.* Bernoulli, *Die Erhaltenen Darstellungen Alexanders des Grossen*, 1905. Arndt's attribution may be correct, *cf.* Six, *Ist. Germ. Arch.* 1894. The only known portrait of this king was at Athens, Paus. i. 9. *Cf.* also Wiegand *Jahrbuch*, 1900.

<sup>3</sup> Comparetti, *op. cit.* xx. 3, Cat. 6149.

head, however, has been identified as Demetrius Poliorcetes, King of Macedonia (306–283).<sup>1</sup> The Byzantines dedicated a statue at Olympia to this victorious monarch,<sup>2</sup> but all conjecture leaves us in ignorance of the truth.

**Ptolemy Philadelphus.**—The beautiful bronze head known as *Ptolemy Philadelphus*,<sup>3</sup> with the twisted fillet and flowers in the locks, is surely an idealised portrait of a man unknown, and not a Hercules, as Furtwängler suggests, though it resembles somewhat the *Lansdowne Hercules* attributed to Scopas. It has affinities also with the school of Lysippus,<sup>4</sup> though in the greater breadth of the face it differs in some respects from the Lysippean heads.

**Ptolemy; Soter I. [?Seleucus Nicator I.]**.—To the same school belongs the bronze head known as *Ptolemy Soter I.*,<sup>5</sup> but identified with some probability as Seleucus Nicator I. of Syria,<sup>6</sup> as it bears

<sup>1</sup> Wolters, *Ist. Arch. Germ.* 1889.

For coin types see Imhof-Blumer, *Porträtköpfe*, 1885, Plate 1, No. 4.

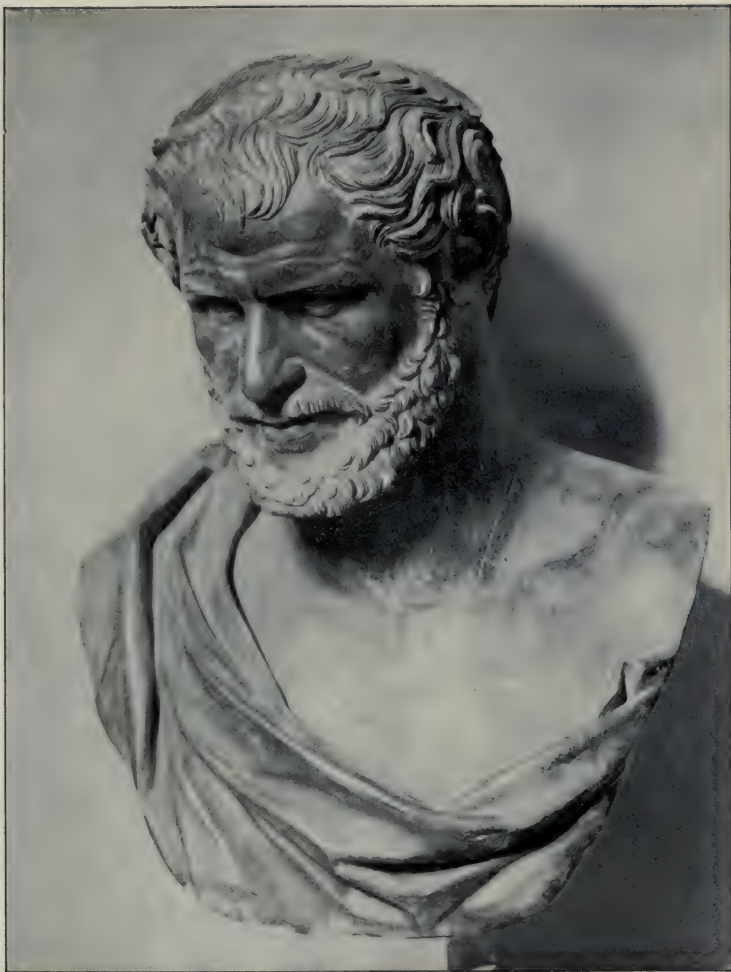
<sup>2</sup> Pausanias vi. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Fig. 34, Cat. 5594.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Martha, in *Monuments de l'Art Antique*.

<sup>5</sup> Fig. 35, Cat. 5590.

<sup>6</sup> Bernoulli, *Griechische Ikonographie*. Cf. Brunn and Arndt; and so Wolters in *Ist. Arch. Germ.* 1889, who seems at fault in his comparison with other statues.



*E. Alinari*

FIG. 41. "HERACLITUS"





considerable resemblance to several authenticated coins of the founder of the Seleucid dynasty<sup>1</sup> [B.C. 323–280].

The carriage of the head and the eyes recall a little the *Apoxyomenus*. It is known that both Lysippus and Bryaxis<sup>2</sup> made a portrait of this king, and it is just possible that, if this bust is in reality a Seleucus, we have a copy of one of these originals.

**Head with the [wreathed helmet [? Pyrrhus of Epirus].**—The distinctive Macedonian helmet gives us some clue to the identification of a marble bust unnamed.<sup>3</sup> Over the helmet is a crown of oak leaves, and there are traces of a fillet binding a diadem beneath the helmet at the back.

The oak wreath crowning the gods is seen continually on coins. Among mortals, the Macedonians and men of Epirus were accustomed to wear such wreaths.<sup>4</sup> When we read that Pyrrhus, the warrior king of Epirus, after he was “crowned with golden crowns” by the Catanians in B.C. 278,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Imhof-Blumer, *Porträtköpfe*, Plate 1, No. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny H. N. xxxiv. 19. A portrait statue of Seleucus was in Athens, Paus. i. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Fig. 36, Cat. 6150.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch: *Pyrrhus* xi. 9.

<sup>5</sup> *Diod. Sic.* xxii. A wreath of oak, and crowns of oak appear on coins of Epirus and Syracuse struck by him, Head, *Historia Nummorum*, pp. 161, 273, 274–5.

was accustomed to wear a crown of some kind over his helmet,<sup>1</sup> the identification of the bust as a portrait of Pyrrhus of Epirus<sup>2</sup> seems to be at least probable.

In point of view of style the portrait marks almost a transition stage. It belongs to the school of the successors of Lysippus, and very successfully combines the largeness of conception of the ideal heads of the great age of Greek art with the details of individuality which render the portrait so realistic.

The head bears a certain resemblance to the portraits of Alexander.

**Archimedes** [? **Archidamus III.**].—The beautiful marble terminal bust of an old man,<sup>3</sup> bearded, with long locks bound by a fillet, and in warrior's costume, has had various names attributed to it.

The half-obliterated inscription led to the belief

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, xxxiv. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Six, *Ist. Arch. Germ.* 1891, 279. In the *Cabinet de France* there is a sardonx cameo with a head very like this, wearing a Macedonian helmet with a *laurel* wreath round it.

<sup>3</sup> Fig. 37, Cat. 6156.

See Wolters, *Ist. Arch. Germ.* (Sezione Romana), 1888, 113. Furtwängler, *op. cit.* 322, Bernoulli, *Griechische Ikonographie*.

Bernoulli and Furtwängler call the bust *Archidamus II.*, Wolters, *Archidamus III.*



*G. Brogi*

FIG. 42. "PTOLEMY LATHYRUS"



*F. Alinari*

FIG. 43. "PTOLEMY SOTER II." (MARBLE)

that the bust represented Archimedes, the natural philosopher.

The facts, however, that the figure represented is rather that of a warrior, that the fillet indicated a king, and that the long hair and beard pointed to a Spartan king, led scholars to seek a better identification. The almost illegible inscription is closer to *Archidamus* than to *Archimedes*. Of four Spartan monarchs of the name of Archidamus, our choice, for various reasons, is limited to two. There is Archidamus II. (468-427), who saved Sparta in the Helot rising, and was a contemporary of Pericles, and there is Archidamus III. (361-338), the son of Agesilaus, who fought against Epaminondas and died in Southern Italy, supporting Tarentum against the Lucanians.

Pausanias<sup>1</sup> says that at Olympia there was a statue of Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, and that he was the first Spartan monarch to have a statue outside the boundaries of his own kingdom; this statue was dedicated to him because he died in a foreign land, and was unburied.

This passage adds to the probability that it is Archidamus III. who is represented in our bust. If we consider the style of the work, it is certainly

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, *Descriptio Graeciae*, vi. 5 and 15.



not of the fifth century, but rather a copy of a realistic portrait of the Hellenistic period. This would point to Archidamus III. as the original of the portrait. If we consider historic probability, there is also a slight balance in favour of Archidamus III. as he died in South Italy, and there may possibly have been a statue made in his honour at Tarentum.

The head is rather like the portraits of Euripides.

**Attilius Regulus** [? **Philetairus of Pergamum**]. —The remarkably fine marble head known as *Attilius Regulus*<sup>1</sup> has been identified as Philip of Macedon<sup>2</sup> for no sound reason, and as Philetairus of Pergamum,<sup>3</sup> the founder of the Attalid dynasty, to whom Pergamum owed its greatness. He died about B.C. 241.

The head is, for once, so remarkably like the coins struck by that monarch, that it leaves practically no doubt on the subject, though on the coin the hair is beautifully worked into clustering curls bound with a laurel wreath.

These four attributions are now commonly ac-

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 38, Cat. 6148.

<sup>2</sup> Furtwängler, *op. cit.* 321.

<sup>3</sup> By Arndt and Gercke, *Bonner Studien*. For coin types, cf. Imhof-Blumer, *Porträtköpfe*, Plate 1, 5.

cepted by archæologists. The identifications, however, depend almost entirely on the similarity to coin types, and a sceptical mind cannot but feel that the similarity usually leaves much to the imagination.

**Pseudo-Seneca** [? Philetas of Cos].—The most striking of the portrait busts in its pitiless realism and perfection of technique is the bronze head known as the *Pseudo-Seneca*.<sup>1</sup> A short history of this sculpture is interesting, as showing how iconography is written.

This bust was found in the garden, on the south side, in 1754. It was first called "Seneca"<sup>2</sup> on account of an alleged resemblance to a medal with the name Seneca, belonging to Cardinal Maffei, which has been lost.

Excavations in Rome, in the Villa Mattei (or Celimontana), near the Church of S. Maria in Domenica, in 1813, brought to light a double herm in marble of *Socrates and Seneca*. The style and inscription on the herm renders its antiquity almost a certainty, and the Seneca<sup>3</sup> has been recognised as

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 39, and cf. Comparetti, *op. cit.*, Tav. v. Cat. 5616.

<sup>2</sup> By Fulvius Ursinus, 1573.

<sup>3</sup> Now in Berlin Museum, 419A. Cf. Lorenzo Re, *Seneca e Socrates*, Rome, 1816. This bust represents a bald, clean-shaven man, with a very broad forehead and a short, thick neck. A

the true portrait. This head was quite different from the so-called "Seneca" of Herculaneum, so the latter was named "Pseudo-Seneca," which name it still bears.<sup>1</sup>

No less than twenty-six busts almost exactly similar to the *Pseudo-Seneca* are known.<sup>2</sup>

In the Museum at Naples, besides this bronze from Herculaneum, there are two marble busts<sup>3</sup> from two different houses in Pompeii, and three belonging to the Farnese Collection, of various origins.

There are eight in the various museums in Rome. The head in the museum on the Palatine Hill is crowned with ivy.<sup>4</sup> That in the Villa Albani wears

cornelian seal, bearing a head closely resembling the bust, was found at Cordova, in Spain, the home of Seneca. It has since been lost.—Hübner, *Arch. Zeit.* 1880.

<sup>1</sup> For a full discussion of the question, which is beyond the scope of this book, see Comparetti, *op. cit.* p. 15, *et seq.* and p. 33 *et seq.* Many various identifications have been made of this bust, all equally without foundation.

<sup>2</sup> Ursinus states they are all derived from a single archetype, which Comparetti declares to be the bronze Herculaneum bust. It may be stated that in the marble busts the sculptor follows, especially in the treatment of the hair, the technique proper to bronze.

<sup>3</sup> Comparetti, *op. cit.*, Tav. iii. 3 and 7.

<sup>4</sup> Comparetti, *op. cit.*, Tav. iv. 2, first published in Visconti, *Icon. Rom* vol. i. Plate 16.



*E. Alinari*

FIG. 44. "SAPPHO"



*G. Brugi*

FIG. 45. "BERENICE"



a fillet,<sup>1</sup> and is called Seneca in the catalogue, while a second in the Villa Albani is combined with an unknown head into a double herm.<sup>2</sup>

There are three in the Uffizi in Florence, three in Paris,<sup>3</sup> two in Berlin, one in the museum attached to the Bodleian Library in Oxford, and two or three in private collections.

It is fairly obvious that these busts must represent a person of some importance.

Comparetti asserts that this bust can only be a portrait of Lucius Calpurnius Piso, to whom the Villa very possibly belonged.

Comparetti's identification is based solely on the similarity of Cicero's description of Piso and the bust itself.

It is true that this melancholy, deeply lined face, with its knitted brow, wild eyes, unkempt locks and ragged beard is very like Cicero's spiteful description of the man he was prosecuting. But the similarity between a portrait in literature and one in bronze can scarcely be regarded as anything more than a probability in favour of the identification,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Comparetti, *op. cit.*, Tav. iv. 5, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Comparetti, *op. cit.*, Tav. iv. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Two are in the Louvre, one in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

<sup>4</sup> This identification is denied by Mau, by Hübner (*Arch. Zeit.* 1888, p. 20), by Mommsen (same volume, p. 32), and by others.



and the original of these numerous striking portraits remains unknown.

Yet scholars cannot resist an attempt at identification.

Brizio, on the strength of the ivy-crowned head on the Palatine, calls it Philetas of Cos, who was born about B.C. 340, and was poet, grammarian and philosopher, and in charge of the great Museum at Alexandria. From literary sources we know something of his delicate health and haggard appearance, and also that there actually existed a bronze statue of him in Alexandria.

In point of style, the Herculaneum bronze, which surely must be an original, might belong to the Hellenistic art of the third century, and if the identification is correct, Philetas takes his place very suitably among the other poets and philosophers in the Villa at a period when Alexandrian poetry was the fashion. The identification, however, remains purely conjectural.<sup>1</sup>

(?) **Berenice.**—Among the most beautiful of the bronzes is a head<sup>2</sup> found in the atrium of the Villa. It was discovered lying on the face: the hair in

<sup>1</sup> For an extensive bibliography, see Comparetti, *op. cit.*, Brizio, *Annali dell' Istituto*, 1873, and Collignon, in *Monuments de l'Art Antique*.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 40, and cf. Comparetti, *op. cit.*, Tav. vi., Cat. 5598.

front was much injured, but it has been well restored.

It is a powerful head of oriental type: the form is full and fleshy, and the throat very massive. The hair is bound with a fillet, and curious little spiral curls hang round the brow and neck. The bronze eyes are a modern restoration.

It has been identified as an Apollo, from a faint resemblance to certain coin types,<sup>1</sup> and notably to a coin of the Calpurnian family.

It has been identified as Ptolemy Apion, King of Egypt, and as *Berenice*, wife of Ptolemy Soter I., for scholars are not even agreed as to the sex. It resembles a little some of the coins of that queen,<sup>2</sup> to whom divine honours were paid on her death, and whose tresses of hair, consecrated to Aphrodite, became a constellation in the heavens, and it may very well be an idealised portrait of her.<sup>3</sup>

Comparetti offers an identification of this bust—supported by less convincing evidence than in the case of the Pseudo-Seneca. He identifies it as the portrait of Aulus Gabinius, Piso's colleague in the consulship, and proconsul of Syria in B.C. 57.

<sup>1</sup> Comparetti, *op. cit.*, p. 26, *Note*.

<sup>2</sup> Visconti, *op. cit.* iii., Pl. 52.

<sup>3</sup> The latest contribution to the iconography of the subject is that it represents merely a distinguished Roman lady.

He, too, suffered under a torrent of Cicero's abuse, who<sup>1</sup> classes him with Piso as "a monster who had been the ruin of the Republic," and condemns his morals and extravagant luxury. Cicero further accuses him of dancing naked in his house, which was resounding with songs and cymbals, and nicknames him Semiramis, and mocks at his carefully dressed hair, perfumed fringes of curls, and rouged and anointed cheeks.

As we look at the bust, it is just possible it might be the somewhat idealised portrait of the luxurious Roman proconsul, corrupted by his residence in the East, but we have absolutely no evidence on the matter.

The inscription<sup>2</sup> on the base remains undecipherable in spite of conjectures.<sup>3</sup>

It is difficult to date this original bust, but it appears to be a Hellenistic work of the fourth century or a little later, executed, as was so much of the sculpture of the period, under oriental influence. In the Kaiserhaus at Vienna is a head of black granite very like this bronze.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *De Prov. Cons.* 1 and 9; *In Pisonem.* 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* chap. ix.

<sup>3</sup> By Brizio, Comparetti, &c.

<sup>4</sup> *Arch. Anzeig.* Vienna, 1891, p. 175; and *cf.* an engraved gem of Lycomedes, Furtwängler, *Jahrbuch*, 1889, Plate 2, Fig. 2, p. 84.



*G. Bragi*

FIG. 46. WARRIOR IN A HELMET (MARBLE)



*G. Bregt*

FIG. 47. BUST WITH A CHLAMYS



**Heads unknown.**—The remaining heads, many of them of striking beauty or interest, it is impossible to identify, though various not very happy attempts have been made. Three heads of philosophers which resemble each other somewhat are the bronze *Archytas*,<sup>1</sup> the *Heraclitus*,<sup>2</sup> and the *Democritus*.<sup>3</sup> The last is very beautiful. The names attributed are quite without foundation. The same may be said of the marble *Lysias*,<sup>4</sup> of the bronze *Ptolemy Lathyrus*,<sup>5</sup> and of the marble *Ptolemy Soter II.*,<sup>6</sup> who has a delightfully humorous face and a slightly crooked mouth. The *Ptolemy Lathyrus* head has also been attributed to Ptolemy Philadelphus, with perhaps equal improbability.

The bronze *Sappho*<sup>7</sup> and *Berenice*<sup>8</sup> (another,

<sup>1</sup> Comparetti, *op. cit.*, Tav. viii. 2, Cat. 5607. Cf. Sogliano in *Museo Italiano di Antichità classica*, iii. 552, who suggests it is a realistic portrait of an athlete: there appears to be no foundation for the conjecture.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 41, Cat. 5643.

<sup>3</sup> Comparetti, *op. cit.*, Tav. ix. 1, Cat. 5602.

<sup>4</sup> Comparetti, *op. cit.*, xxi. 1, Cat. 6147.

<sup>5</sup> Fig. 42, Cat. 5600. The bust may possibly represent Ptolemy Philadelphus who had statues at Olympia and Athens.—Pausanias, vi. 17; i. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Fig. 43, Cat. 6158.

<sup>7</sup> Fig. 44, Cat. 4896.

<sup>8</sup> Fig. 45, Cat. 5592. Called Artemis by Rayet, *Monuments de l'Art Antique*.



*Berenice*, not the queen) are interesting portraits of ladies unknown and very different in type.

The marble head of a *Warrior*<sup>1</sup> with the close-fitting helmet looks like a portrait and somewhat resembles Alexander. The bronze *Bust with a chlamys*,<sup>2</sup> with the beautiful close curls of the Lysippean school, might be an ideal head and belongs to a somewhat earlier period.

**The Roman portraits.**—From the work of the Greeks we pass to the Roman portrait statues and busts. Whether we agree with Wickhoff,<sup>3</sup> who maintains the truly national character of the art of the Augustan age, or with the other school,<sup>4</sup> who maintain its Hellenistic character, we see in the portraits of the period something original and distinctly Roman in the instinct accentuating the details that make for individuality, while the Greek endeavoured to realise an ideal type from an individual. Of the value of the art of the Augustan age no one can doubt after reading the recent masterly works on the subject, but yet, from the point of view of art one would gladly give the whole

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 46, Cat. 6150.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 47, Cat. 5588.

<sup>3</sup> Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, 1900 (Trans. Mrs. Strong).

<sup>4</sup> Courbaud, *Le Bas-Relief Romain*, Paris, 1899.

original work of that age for one of the "Ideal Heads," for a single Apollo, for a "Victorious Athlete," with that unspeakable charm, that winning grace, that touch of melancholy, that ideal beauty, that lifts certain Greek sculptures almost into the world of spiritual things.

**The imperial family.**—Various statues<sup>1</sup> in bronze from Herculaneum represent members of the imperial family, either as citizens in the toga, as priests with covered heads, as victorious athletes, of the Greek type, with the addition of a cloak, or as deities. Every museum is full of such familiar representations, of which the Herculaneum statues are fine examples.

**The Family of the Balbi.**—More interesting is a whole series of portraits in marble of the family of Marcus Nonius Balbus,<sup>2</sup> especially the two equestrian statues of father and son<sup>3</sup> which are almost the only antique statues of that kind remaining to us, except the bronze *Marcus Aurelius* of the Capitol and the *Caligula* in marble of the British Museum. The Herculaneum statues are very noble in their dignified

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Figs. 10, 11. Cat. 5593, 5595, 5609, 5615. For identifications see Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie*, i. pt. 1.

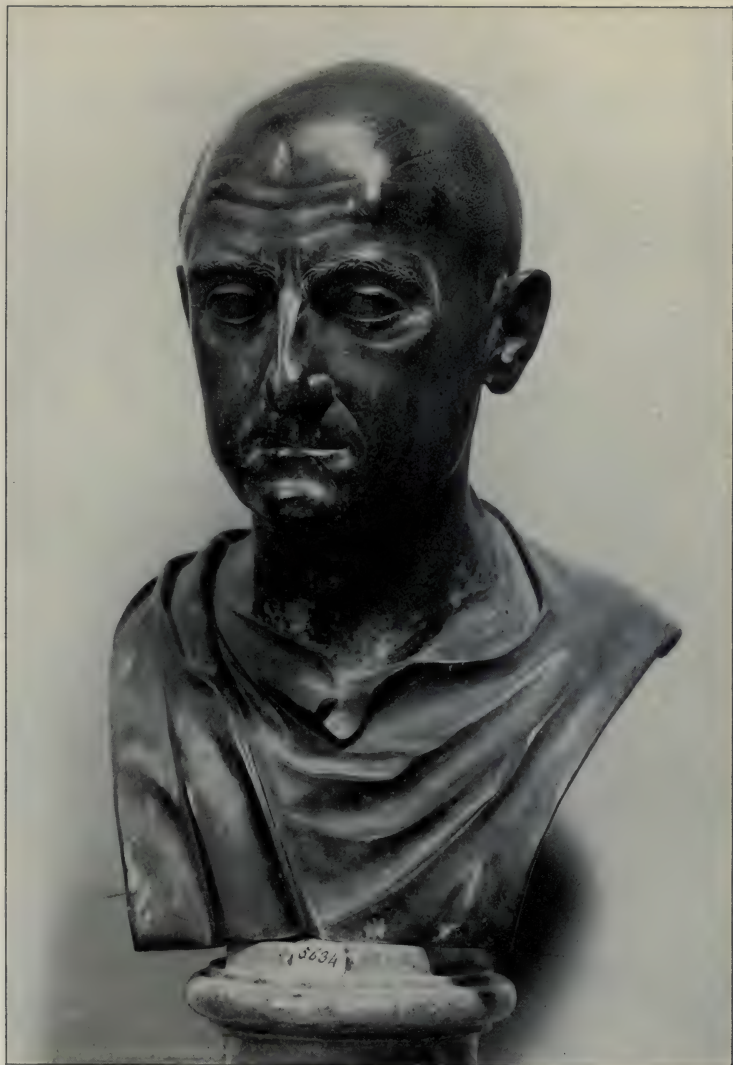
<sup>2</sup> Chap. xvi., and Figs. 12, 13, 14.

<sup>3</sup> Cat. 6211, 6104.

simplicity. Riding Greek fashion, without saddle or stirrups, and simply clad in the cuirass and military cloak, the riders sit with grace their superb horses. There is extraordinary truth and vitality in the animals, in the anatomy of muscle and vein, in the movement of the ears, in the delicate nostrils, and in the flowing mane, which last is an original touch. It may be noticed that the horses move both their left legs together. The statues are almost exactly alike: the head of the elder Balbus was missing; its place was supplied by a copy, made by Canart, of the head of the consular statue of the elder Balbus. The two consular statues, the statues of the mother, Vicira, and of the other ladies of the family,<sup>1</sup> are all dignified in conception, though they vary in execution, especially the three in Dresden, the supposed mother being much the finest statue. As a family they are plain, and their plebeian origin<sup>2</sup> is perhaps betrayed in a certain lack of distinction, but the faces possess individuality and strength of character. It is interesting to note how the tradition of the fourth century as

<sup>1</sup> Cat. 6246, 6167, 6168, 6240-2-9-50 and three in Dresden Museum, 500-1-2.

<sup>2</sup> One of the family played a prominent part as Tribune in B.C. 32.



*E. Alinari*

FIG. 48. SCIPIO AFRICANUS



*G. Brugi*

FIG. 49. "VESTAL" (WOMAN UNKNOWN; MARBLE)



to the pose and drapery of female statues still lives. We can compare one of these figures with a fine *Draped Woman* in the Capitoline Museum,<sup>1</sup> while the finest of the Dresden statues resembles a marble statue from Cyne, now in Constantinople.

**Other portraits.**—The two bronze portrait statues of *Marcus Calpurnius*<sup>3</sup> and of *Lucius Mammius Maximus*<sup>4</sup> the priest of Augustus are equally realistic; the latter is very fine in the pose, and in the admirable grace and dignity of the drapery.

To the earliest period of Roman portraiture, when busts in bronze and marble were beginning to replace the waxen images of earlier days, belongs the bronze bust of *Scipio Africanus*,<sup>5</sup> which stood in the tablinum of the Villa. It is exceptionally ugly, with bald head, compressed lips and big nose, and is, no doubt, an excellent likeness. The *Agrippina*,<sup>6</sup> wife of Germanicus, in bronze, is also authentic, and both those may be compared with many similar busts,<sup>7</sup> and with coins.

<sup>1</sup> For reproductions see *Ist. Arch. Germ.* 1900.

<sup>2</sup> Collignon, *op. cit.* ii. 294.

<sup>3</sup> Cat. 5597.

<sup>4</sup> Fig. 15, Cat, 5591.

<sup>5</sup> Fig. 48, Cat. 5634.

<sup>6</sup> Comparetti, *op. cit.* Tav. xii. 3, Cat. 5474.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Visconti, Bernoulli, &c.



**Portraits unknown.**—The few heads that remain cannot be identified. The beautiful marble *Head of a Vestal*<sup>1</sup> may be a portrait, but is certainly not a Vestal, as the Vestal Virgins had a peculiar method of dressing the hair and wearing their headdress. The originals of the bronze *Sulla*,<sup>2</sup> of the *Hannibal*,<sup>3</sup> with the splendid, shaggy hair, and of the fine *Head with a headdress*,<sup>4</sup> still remain unknown. The *Sulla* is rather like a gem<sup>5</sup> by an unknown artist, probably a Sicilian, named Heraclidas. It represents the head of a Roman unknown of about the middle of the third century.

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 49, Cat. 6188 ; and compare Samter, *Vestalinnenköpfe*, *Ist. Arch. Germ.* 1894, 125.

<sup>2</sup> Comparetti, *op. cit.*, Tav. xi. 4, Cat. 5586.

<sup>3</sup> Fig. 50, Cat. 6154.

<sup>4</sup> Fig. 51, Cat. 5587.

<sup>5</sup> Furtwängler, *Jahrbuch*, 1888, Plate 8, No. 12.

## CHAPTER XIV

### THE FRESCOES

Large frescoes—General style of decoration—Frescoes of the House of Argus—Frescoes of the Villa of the Papyri—Other frescoes—Egyptian influence—Artistic value of the frescoes.

**Large frescoes.**—The frescoes of Herculaneum<sup>1</sup> are similar in style to those of Pompeii, though perhaps superior, on the whole, in execution.

We have about some half-dozen frescoes, representing lifesize figures; we have the charming wall decoration, entire, from the House of Argus, and the remaining four hundred<sup>2</sup> frescoes are only small portions of the decoration of entire walls.

Of the large frescoes, two were found in 1739 in the recesses on the east side of the Basilica.<sup>3</sup> They are both slightly concave and measure  $6\frac{3}{4}$  by  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet (2·2 by 1·6 metres). One represents *Theseus*

<sup>1</sup> See Bibliography and Catalogue.

<sup>2</sup> Ruggiero, *op. cit.*; gives a catalogue of 250 of the more complete.

<sup>3</sup> Chap. vi.

*victorious over the Minotaur.*<sup>1</sup> The drawing is somewhat poor. The other represents *Hercules watching his son Telephus suckled by the hind.*<sup>2</sup> This picture is superior to the other, and the foreshortening is admirable. A very charming fresco,<sup>3</sup> found in 1739 at Resina, is that of *Chiron teaching Achilles the lyre.*

Others represent a *Group playing on instruments*,<sup>4</sup> a *Woman painting a mask*,<sup>5</sup> the so-called *Judgment of Appius Claudius*,<sup>6</sup> and *Diana and Endymion*,<sup>7</sup> and three undraped half figures of *Women and a shepherd*,<sup>8</sup> and a *Hermaphrodite*.

**General style of decoration.**—Large pictures were the exception in Herculaneum. The most general scheme of decoration consisted simply in the insertion of tiny medallion-like pictures in the midst of great panels, which are most commonly painted in the familiar Pompeian red, white, black and sometimes yellow. The panels are further decorated with delicate borders and friezes. The subjects most commonly represented are little landscapes, cupids, birds, beasts, slight architectural designs, flowers, and masks. The number of

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 52, Cat. 9008.

<sup>3</sup> Fig. 54, Cat. 9109.

<sup>5</sup> Cat. 9563.

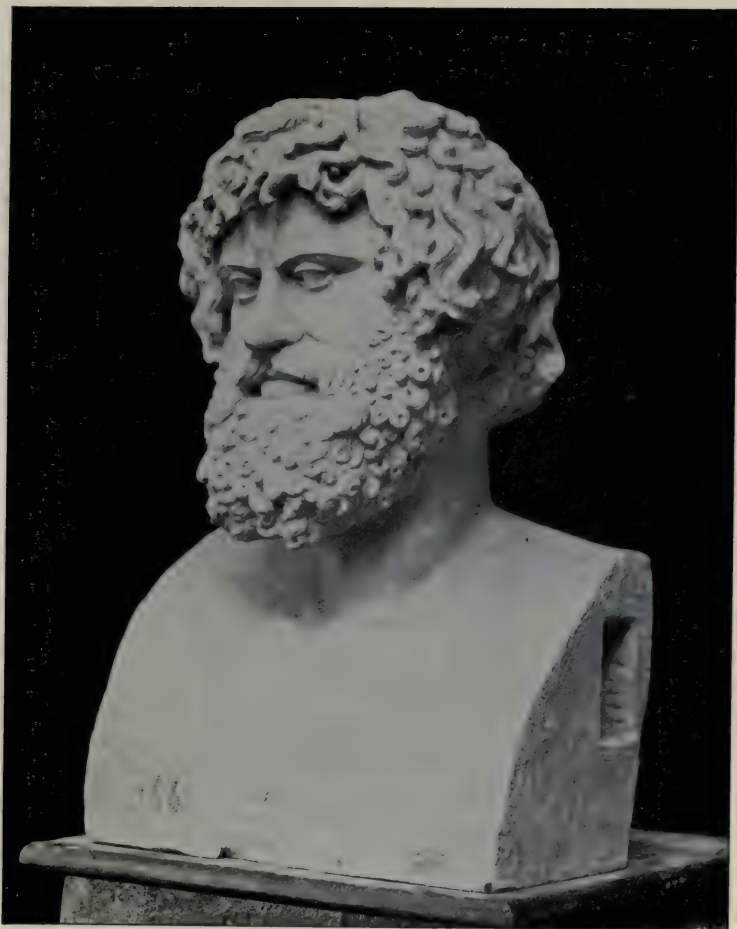
<sup>7</sup> Cat. 9246.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 53, Cat. 9049.

<sup>4</sup> Cat. 9021.

<sup>6</sup> Cat. 9027.

<sup>8</sup> Cat. 9239.



*G. Frogt*

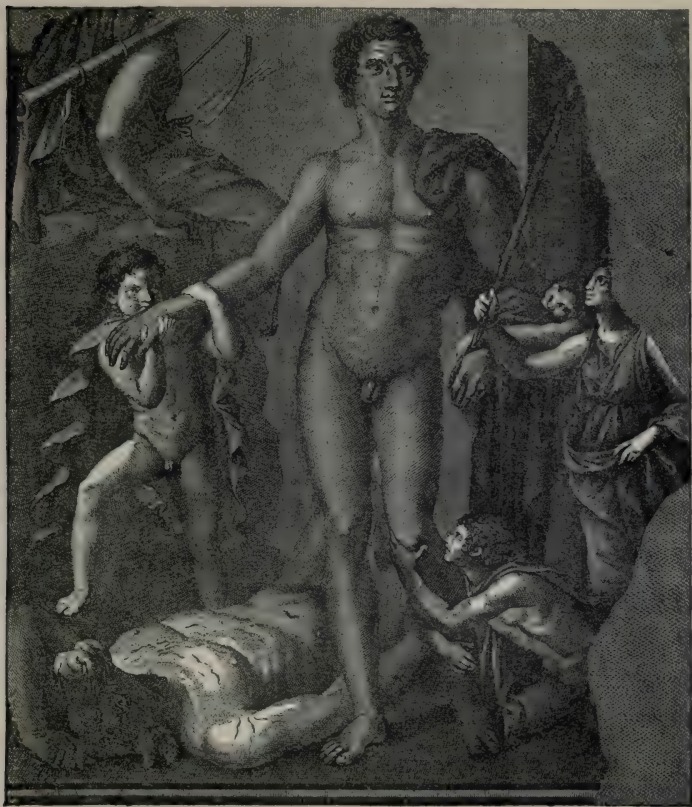
FIG. 50. "HANNIBAL" OR "JUBA" (MARBLE)



*G. Brogi*

FIG. 51. HEAD WITH A HEADDRESS

colours used is few. The treatment is very artistic and dainty, and far more decorative and pleasing



[After Bayardi]

FIG. 52. THESEUS VICTORIOUS OVER THE MINOTAUR. FROM THE BASILICA

to some tastes than the more ambitious subject-pictures.



**Frescoes of the House of Argus.**—Of frescoes of this type we have admirable examples in the wall decorations, almost entire, of the House of Argus,<sup>1</sup> discovered in 1830.

These frescoes were found in the triclinium, on the wall of the peristyle, on the atrium and in the second peristyle.

In the second peristyle the wall is divided into five panels, with borders of fine geometrical design and architectural decorations, seen in perspective. Along the top runs a frieze of purely decorative and very light architectural design, and without any possible organic cohesion. Along the bottom is a frieze divided, vertically, into panels, with little pictures of birds and plants.

In the triclinium, the pictures in the panels are larger. On the central panel is represented *Argus and Io*, from which fresco the house takes its name. On the side panels are two winged Victories. The frieze at the bottom is very charming, representing hunting scenes and sea monsters. These panels are unfortunately somewhat injured. The ground of the lower part is black, and of the upper, white.

<sup>1</sup> See chap. x. and Figs. 3, 4. Cf. Zahn, *op. cit.*, ii. 6, 9, 37, 63, 65, 66, 83, 85.

The frescoes on the wall of the first peristyle, and of the second storey, again consist of tiny



[After Bayards]

FIG. 53. TELEPHUS SUCKLED BY THE HIND. FROM THE BASILICA

medallions of animals inserted in a panel, with thin lines of ornamentation. In the upper storey the

colour is red on a white ground. On the ground floor the lower two-thirds of the wall is black and the upper third white.

Similar in design are the walls of the atrium, which are white with a red frieze.

**Frescoes of the Villa of the Papyri.**—The frescoes<sup>1</sup> of the famous Villa of the Papyri are fragmentary and very small. The reason is probably to be sought in the fact that the house belonged to the late republican epoch. In those days walls were usually painted in polychrome to represent marble. The little frescoes were probably a later addition. They represent landscapes, with rivers and hills, animals, Medusa heads, masks, garlands, &c. The average size is 14 by 9 inches (35 by 22·5 centimetres). The largest is 46 by 10 inches (115 by 25 centimetres), and the smallest 5 by 9 (12·5 by 22·5 centimetres). Several of them are painted on a yellow ground.

**Other frescoes.**—A few other frescoes are worthy of note.

The fresco of *Perseus slaying Medusa*<sup>2</sup> was found in 1828, in the tablinum of the House of Aristides.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cat. 8548, 8753, 8759, 8779, 8806, 8821, 9319, 9399, 9458, 9465, 9467, 9499, 9902, 9944, 9951.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 55.

<sup>3</sup> Chap. x.

Near Perseus stands the goddess Athene, into whose shield he is looking to avoid gazing on the fatal head of the Gorgon. There is a sense of



*After Bayardi*

FIG. 54. CHIRON TEACHING ACHILLES THE LYRE. FRESCO FROM THE BASILICA

space and airiness about the picture; the colour is delicate; the conventional tree is very pleasing in form, while the goats under it are remarkably realistic. The building on the left is almost



Norman in style, with its round arches and its towers.

The little landscapes too are often very charming, with their gardens, porticoes, fishponds and rivers, and curious architectural fantasies. It is remarkable in these landscapes how a general impression is very skilfully conveyed by the simplest means. Pliny tells us that this style was introduced by Ludius,<sup>1</sup> who was a contemporary of Augustus, but it must not be forgotten that as Herculaneum owed her worship of Isis<sup>2</sup> to the Egyptians, so she felt the influence of their art, not only in the actual scenes depicted in the worship of Isis, and in the landscapes with Egyptian temples and rivers and crocodiles, but very often in the actual details of decoration.

**Five monochromes.**—Of the five small monochromes,<sup>3</sup> painted in red on marble, two are very beautiful, namely, the *Five women playing at dice*, and the four-horsed chariot, driven by a charioteer, accompanied by a nude warrior in a helmet: the horses are very fine. Indeed, the frescoes are at

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, H. N. xxxv. 37. The reading of the name is uncertain, it may be *Studius*, or *Tadius*. The fact we extract is that this style was of Italian origin.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. xiv.

<sup>3</sup> Fig. 56, Cat. 9560-1-2-3-4. Cf. Schwabe, *Jahrbuch*, 1886, p. 170, Note 18.



*After Zahn*

FIG. 55. PERSEUS SLAYING MEDUSA  
(Fresco, from the House of Aristides)





their best when they are representing animal life in a manner admirably realistic, full of charm and often of humour. The fresco of the *Charioteer* closely resembles a well-known bronze of the same



[After Zahn]

FIG. 56. A CHARIOTEER  
*Monochrome in red on marble*

subject in Tübingen University. It is of the middle of the fifth century at latest.

In February 1761, were found, in a house at Resina, two pictures<sup>1</sup> painted on stucco. They were placed back to back against the wall, and were

<sup>1</sup> Cat. 9022.

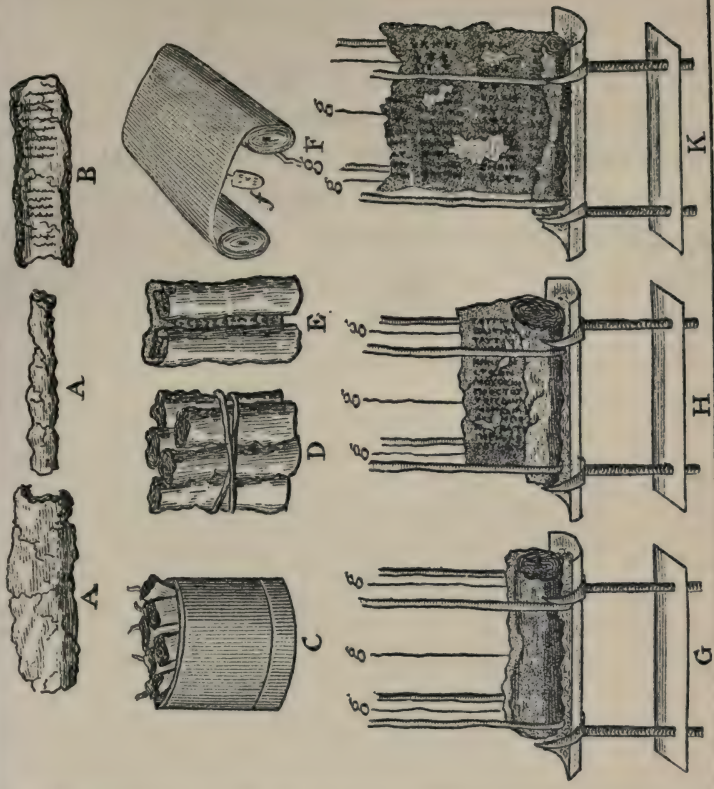
and Herculaneum constant repetitions of the same subject, from which it is almost possible to recognise famous originals only known from descriptions of them.

This is the case in the many examples we have of *Medea about to slay her children*. Of this subject we have at Herculaneum only the figure of *Medea*<sup>1</sup>; but, as the painting is very long and narrow, it is probable the rest of the fresco represented the children, according to the description given of the famous ancient picture by Timomachus, of which we probably have small copies in the several little pictures of the subject at Pompeii.

Two frescoes of *Women as architectural supports* are interesting, because one of them is obviously a poor copy of one of the celebrated bronze *Dancers*<sup>2</sup> of the House of the Papyri. A similar painting was found in the excavations at Stabiae, and further supports the belief that pictures were often copied from well-known statues. In the many inferior frescoes the perspective and grouping are both faulty, and many of them are little better than rough daubs. Architectural designs, though sometimes charming in effect, are generally

<sup>1</sup> Cat. 8976.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. xi.



KEY TO LETTERINGS.

- A. Rolls as found.
- B. Roll split open.
- C. Rolls in a box (*capsa*).
- D. A bundle of rolls.
- E. Roll partially opened.
- F. Roll showing label with title (*f*), and silk thread attached (*g*).
- G. Piaggio's machine of metal, holding the papyrus to be unrolled, with silk threads (*g*) attached.

H, K. Ditto, showing the membrane through the columns of the roll.

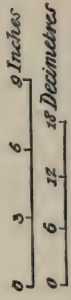


FIG. 57. THE PAPYRI. PARTLY FROM FRESCOS

[After A. de For.]

confused and seldom possess any proportion and organic unity. We must remember that Pompeii and Herculaneum were provincial towns. Wealthy men could import works of sculpture of all epochs and places: fresco was painted on the spot, and it must all have been executed in the course of a single century.

## CHAPTER XV

### STATUETTES AND HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE

Statuettes of the gods—Of Isis—Of cabiri, priapi and camilli—*Alexander* and *The Amazon*—Putti, fauns, sileni—Furniture—Small metal objects—Household utensils and food-stuffs.

IN addition to the large bronze statues and busts, there are in the Museum about a hundred statuettes and tiny figures, ranging from two feet or so downward. Many of them are copies of popular statues, and vary greatly in workmanship.

A large proportion of these little bronzes came from the House of the Papyri, though a good many were found in the Theatre and elsewhere.

**Statuettes of the gods.**—A great number represent the gods,<sup>1</sup> and probably served as the penates or household gods, which stood by the altar that was found in every private house. Many such figures have been found at domestic shrines in the houses at Pompeii.

<sup>1</sup> Cat. 5013, 5122, 5126, 5128, 5264, 5286, &c.



There are some of Minerva of great dignity, in spite of the small proportions, an exquisite little *Venus*, a figure of *Diana* full of movement, an exquisite nude figure with a thyrsus, and two very fine ivy-crowned heads of *Bacchus* and a *Bacchante*.<sup>1</sup>

**The worship of Isis.**—Especially interesting are the statuettes bearing witness to the worship in Herculaneum of Egyptian and oriental deities. We have several testimonies to the worship of Isis, which had spread in South Italy nearly a century before it was officially acknowledged in Rome shortly before the imperial epoch.

In Puteoli an inscription of B.C. 105 shows a temple of Serapis (Osiris) already stood there. The Temple of Isis at Pompeii belongs to a date but little later.

Several frescoes<sup>2</sup> in Pompeii and Herculaneum represent public devotions paid to this goddess. She was confused with Cybele, mother of the gods, and the “Temple of the Mother of the Gods” is probably a temple to Isis.

Quite near the temple, and probably swept out of the precincts by the mud torrent, was a

<sup>1</sup> Cat. 5134, 5024, 5292, 5305, 5302, 5295.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. xiv. on Frescoes, and chap. vii. on the Temples.

statuette of *Isis*, with her familiar symbol, the serpents. It bore the inscription<sup>1</sup> *JULIA HYGIA EX VISV*; that is to say, it was a votive offering from one Julia to Isis-Hygia, as goddess of health,<sup>2</sup> who gives revelations of the means of healing to the sick who spend a night in her temple.

Both here and elsewhere in Herculaneum have been found the sacred instruments used in her worship, crotala and sistra, and near the statue was found a bronze vase with hieroglyphics.<sup>3</sup>

We have Isis again in three statuettes,<sup>4</sup> representing her in her capacity of "dispenser of good fortune," or Isis Tyche, as she was called, and also as patroness of sailors. Her peculiar attributes then are the rudder, the cornucopia, and, of course, the usual lotus flowers on the brow and serpent bracelet.

A good many votive hands<sup>5</sup> are found among the bronzes, some in the attitude of blessing. Hands were carried in the processions of Isis,<sup>6</sup> usually a left hand, the symbol of equity, and these hands probably refer to her worship.

<sup>1</sup> C. I. 929, Cat. 3711.

<sup>2</sup> Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. Antiq.*, Art. *Isis*.

<sup>3</sup> Cat. 1107.

<sup>4</sup> Found in 1746, 1752.

<sup>5</sup> Cat. 5505-6.

<sup>6</sup> Apuleius: *Metam.* xi. 10, 26, and cf. *Monumenti Antichi, Ac. dei Lincei*, 1889, p. 170.

**Cabiri, priapi, and camilli.**—The mysterious *cabiri*<sup>1</sup> are represented in Herculaneum, little nude figures, wearing a Phrygian cap. Their precise position among the minor nature gods is difficult to determine, but they were frequently associated with the worship of Cybele. We have a very similar representation of them on an ancient bas-relief from Macedonia, and another from Sparta.

The *priapi*,<sup>2</sup> too, which were carried in processions, and stood usually in the gardens, are connected with oriental rites.

A more gracious and familiar figure is represented in the charming statuettes of *camilli*,<sup>3</sup> with their girt-up robes and lovely locks. These *camilli* were Roman boys of noble family and unblemished character who served in the sacrifices of the gods, and bore a box of incense (*acerra*) and dish (*patera*), or sometimes an asperge (*flabellum*) and a little pail (*situla*). We see them in the stately procession carved on the face of the *Ara Pacis*;<sup>4</sup> on the

<sup>1</sup> Cat. 5022. Cf. Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. Ant. Art. Cabiri*.

<sup>2</sup> Cat. 27723-31-34.

<sup>3</sup> Cat. 5427.

<sup>4</sup> Portions of the altar are in the Museums of the Louvre, the Vatican, the Uffizi, and the Terme, and in the Villa Medici.



*G. Brogi*

FIG. 58. ALEXANDER ON HORSEBACK



bas-reliefs of the Trajan column, and in the lovely bronze statue of the Capitol.

Here, too, as at Pompeii, we see the familiar household *Genius*,<sup>1</sup> represented as a boy with very short, but full garments, bearing a cornucopia and patera.

There are also a large number of figures of heroes, and two statuettes of especial importance.

**The Alexander and the Amazon.**—In spite of its small size, the *Alexander on horseback*<sup>2</sup> is one of the finest of all the bronzes of Herculaneum. It is possible that it belongs to the school of Lysippus, who was a master in the depiction of animals, as all the evidence—mainly, alas! literary—bears witness. This horse, with the slender legs and nervous head, is a masterpiece, while scarcely inferior as a work of art, and perhaps more charming, is the *Amazon on horseback*.<sup>3</sup>

**Putti, fauns, and sileni.**—The other figures are not of much interest till we come to the charming *fauns*,<sup>4</sup> *putti*,<sup>5</sup> and *sileni*,<sup>6</sup> chiefly used for deco-

<sup>1</sup> Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii, its Life and Art*, p. 269.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 58, Cat. 4996.

<sup>3</sup> Cat. 4999, Barré, Plate 56 (see Bibliography).

<sup>4</sup> Cat. 27837, &c.

<sup>5</sup> Fig. 59, Cat. 5028, 5033.

<sup>6</sup> Fig. 60<sup>a</sup>, Cat. 5006, 5012, 5015, 5020-1-8.



rating the little fountains in the atrium, peristyle, and garden. The *putti* are, some of them, quite exquisite. It was not till the Hellenistic age that artists first turned their attention to children as a subject of art. Most of these little figures, or their originals, belong to this period, and are the forerunners of generations of cupids. They are of the type of the well-known *Boy with the goose* of the Louvre.

**Statuettes of animals.**—It is this realistic age, too, which has given us the admirable studies of animals—deer, boars, tigers.<sup>1</sup> Some of these little figures are delightfully humorous, especially the pigs, of which we find many examples.<sup>2</sup> For the pig was not for decorative purposes, as the other animals, but was a votive offering, being an animal to which was attached a mysterious significance in the *suovetaurilia*, the Eleusinian Mysteries, and in the more domestic worship, as an offering to the lares, or household gods.

About ten bronzes<sup>3</sup> which no longer exist are reproduced in Bayardi. One is a lovely little figure of *Mercury*, standing at rest.

<sup>1</sup> Figs. 60, 61, Cat. 4888, 4893, 69762–71. Some of these and of the *putti* are reproduced in Comparetti, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Cat. 4905, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Tom. i. p. 89, Tom. ii. pp. 65, 77, 135, &c.







FIG. 60a. SILENUS



FIG. 60. A PIG

*G. Brogi*



**Furniture.**—Of actual furniture, very little has been found beyond a few fragments in marble and bronze, which evidently formed part of couches and tables. This is true, also, of Pompeii, and is due partly to the fact that there was not much furniture in a Roman house; partly that the majority of the inhabitants of Herculaneum had time to escape with their goods; but chiefly that household furniture was made of wood, and that has decayed, in the course of centuries, by a natural process of carbonisation.

**Small metal objects.**—Among the innumerable small objects<sup>1</sup> in bronze, silver, and gold, which came from Pompeii and Herculaneum, and are put all together in the Museum, a few of pre-eminent beauty are worth noting. Three of the candelabra<sup>2</sup> are among the most graceful things of the kind, especially that with the sphinxes and griffin heads. Several of the lamps<sup>3</sup> are from Herculaneum, and the tripods and censers came from the temples.

Among the numerous vases, cups, and mixing-bowls (*cratera*) we invariably find beauty of form, enhanced by exquisite designs, as also in

<sup>1</sup> Figs. 62, 63. A complete and classified catalogue is given of all the small objects from Herculaneum in Ruggiero, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Cat. 72195, 72231, 73089.

<sup>3</sup> Cat. 72180–72255.



medallions, representing fruits, flowers, cupids and mythological subjects such as were the inspiration of the Renaissance. A silver-plated bronze sundial,<sup>1</sup> which can only be described as ham-shaped, is inscribed with lines and letters indicating the days of the month, and among the objects in silver we have two helmets,<sup>2</sup> some trays,<sup>3</sup> a pail with a bas-relief,<sup>4</sup> and a mortar sculptured with the famous *Apotheosis of Homer*,<sup>5</sup> where the poet, draped and veiled, is borne upwards on an eagle. On a circular mirror is a very fine relief of the *Death of Cleopatra*.

Small vessels in glass, and lamps and cups in earthenware exist. Some of the latter are adorned with pretty patterns and little pictures, and there is a curious lantern, glazed with talc, bearing an inscription: TRIBURTUS CATUS S.

A few cameos, intaglios, medals and seals and many coins in the Museum are known to have come from Herculaneum, and among the few gold ornaments found, were many of the *bullae*<sup>6</sup> worn by patrician boys when they came of age, and a

<sup>1</sup> Cat. 772995, reproduced in Comparetti, *op. cit.* Tav. xvii.

<sup>2</sup> Cat. 35673-4.

<sup>3</sup> Cat. 116353, 25496, 25695, &c.

<sup>4</sup> Cat. 25283.

<sup>5</sup> Cat. 25301.

<sup>6</sup> Cat. 24650.



*G. Brogi*

FIG. 61. A GAZELLE



golden brooch<sup>1</sup> representing two cornucopiae with lions' heads. A beautiful little silver head of the Emperor Galba was also found near the House of Argus.

**Various instruments.**—We have also a collection of mathematical and surgical instruments, toothpicks, strigils, theatre tickets, knuckle-bones, and a sistrum bearing witness to the worship of Isis.

In the tablinum and library of the House of the Papyri were discovered, in 1752, twenty-three wooden tablets,<sup>2</sup> smeared with wax, for inscribing with a style. These tablets, unlike the celebrated tablets of Jucundus at Pompeii,<sup>3</sup> broke and crumbled at the first touch. Reed pens have also been found in 1739, 1757, and 1765.

**Kitchen utensils and food-stuffs.**—Of purely domestic articles we have many remains. In the Museum is a remarkably fine kitchen stove, shaped like a fortress, with towers at the angles. This is provided with spits and taps and could supply the house with hot water.

To discriminate between the innumerable and very modern kitchen utensils is the work rather of the housekeeper than of the archaeologist, but one

<sup>1</sup> Cat. 24842.

<sup>2</sup> Paderni, *Phil. Trans.* 1753.

<sup>3</sup> Mau, *Pompeii*, chap. lviii.

cannot forbear noticing the elegance of the patterned perforations in the colanders.

There is, in the Museum, an extraordinary collection of food-stuffs, much of which came from Herculaneum. There is a small, flat, round cake, looking exactly like a modern sponge cake, burnt to a cinder. All—grains, fruits, nuts—have preserved their natural appearance, only they are quite black. Soap, medicines, remains of shell-fish, honey, vinegar and ground colours for painting, have also been found.

In the houses excavated at Resina, especially in those nearer the sea, which appear to have formed a poorer quarter, are many remains of fishing utensils—hooks, heads and blackened nets. These simple relics seem to bring us very near the ancient dwellers of the city.







*F. Alinari*

FIG. 62. A WATER-POT (SILVER)





## CHAPTER XVI

### THE INSCRIPTIONS

Public decrees—Dedicatory inscriptions—Inscriptions referring to public buildings—Dedications to the imperial family—Inscriptions relating to the family of Balbus.

INSCRIPTIONS<sup>1</sup> and fragments of inscriptions to the number of nearly fifty have been found in Herculaneum during the excavations carried on in the eighteenth century.

Most of these are now in Naples Museum. Two can be seen in the Theatre, in their original position, and a few, which are recorded in the reports, no longer exist.

Two or three inscriptions of considerable length have been found.

**Public decrees.**—On a brazen tablet,<sup>2</sup> 28 by 20 inches (70 by 50 cent.), fastened on to a wall was a decree of the Senate forbidding the destruc-

<sup>1</sup> *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. 10, Pt. 1, Nos. 1401–1447.

<sup>2</sup> C. I. 1401.

tion of ancient buildings for the sake of the value of their material, and inflicting heavy money penalties on offenders.

This Act was passed in the consulship of Cn. Hosidius Vega and Lucius Vagellius—*i.e.* under the Emperor Claudius.

The Senate seems to have possessed a nice knowledge of the special vice of its countrymen through all the centuries.

Another tablet, of a slightly later date, deals with a special case connected with the decree above, and ends with a list of the names of forty-five senators who were present on the occasion of voting.

Excavations of March 17, 1746, brought to light a small bronze book,<sup>1</sup> consisting of four leaves only. It is dated, and belongs to the reign of Vespasian, who is granting citizenship to certain veteran soldiers of the second legion. A list of names follows, and at the end we read the following words :

*Descriptum et recognitum ex tabula aenea quae fixa est  
Romae in Capitolio in podio arae gentis Juliae latere dextro  
ante signu(m) Lib(eri) patris*

signifying that the lists were taken from the brazen

<sup>1</sup> C. I. 1402, reproduced in Bayardi, Plates v., xli., xliii., xlv.  
*Cf. Istit. di Corres. Arch.* 1857.

tablet which is affixed at Rome in the Capitol, on the base of the altar of the Julian family, on the right side, in front of the statue of Father Bacchus.

These words refer to the official list of soldiers who had rendered distinguished service to their country. It was kept in the Tabularium, or place for the archives (*tabulae*), in the Capitol. The Tabularium still exists, the oldest building in Rome, its huge blocks of peperino forming the support of the modern Capitol and towering, a solid mass, high over the Forum.

On the walls of the Theatre, between two columns, were found, in May 1739, portions of marble tablets, six larger and five smaller.<sup>1</sup>

They bear long lists of names of freedmen or newly enrolled citizens of Herculaneum.

**Dedicatory inscriptions.**—The remaining inscriptions are much briefer, and consist mainly of dedicatory inscriptions to statues.

Several inscriptions, most of them in a fragmentary condition, were found in the neighbourhood of the two doors of the orchestra entrances of the Theatre.

Of interest mainly because it can still be seen on

<sup>1</sup> C. I. 1403.



the base of the statue now lost, which once stood on the left-hand extremity of the stage (the west side), is the following <sup>1</sup>:

AP . CLAUDIO . C . F . PULCHRO

COS . IMP .

HERCULANENSES . POST .

MORT .

“The people of Herculaneum raised (this statue) to Appius Claudius Pulcher, son of Caius, consul and general, after his death.”

Among the fragments of a fine architrave which stood over the orchestra door on the opposite side were found, in January 1739, the broken fragments of the following: <sup>2</sup>

L . ANNIUS . L . F . MAMMIANUS . RUFUS . II . VIR .

QUINQ . THEATR . ORCH . S . P .

P . NUMISIUS . P . F . ARCHITECTUS

Two others, almost precisely similar, were found in 1738 in almost the same position. <sup>3</sup>

The grateful citizens of Herculaneum were evi-

<sup>1</sup> C. I. No. 1424.

<sup>2</sup> C. I. 1443, Cat. 3743. Cf. C. I. 1446.

<sup>3</sup> C. I. 1444-5, Cat. 3741. Many other fragmentary inscriptions bearing this man's name have been found in Herculaneum. See C. I. 1444 (Cat. 3741), 1449, 1451.

dently not minded to let us forget that *Lucius Annius Mammianus Rufus*, son of *Lucius*, *dumvir* and *censor* (erected) the orchestra of the Theatre at his own cost, and that the architect was *Publius Numisius*, son of *Publius*.

**Inscriptions relating to public buildings.**—The statue, as well as the inscription,<sup>1</sup> has come down to us of another of their benefactors, *Lucius Mammius Maximus*, priest of Augustus.

Of the munificence of *Mammius Maximus*, or of one of his family, we have proof in an interesting inscription,<sup>2</sup> bearing witness to the existence of an important building still undiscovered. It runs as follows :

1. MAMMIUS . MAXIMUS . MACELLVM .<sup>3</sup>

CUM ORNAMENTIS ET . MERITORIS SVA PEC. F. C.

ID EMQ . DEDICATIONE POPULO EPULUM DEDIT

We learn that *Mammius*, or one of his family, built and adorned a market place (*macellum*) at his own expense, and gave a feast to celebrate the occasion. This *macellum* has not been discovered. If it resembles that at *Pompeii* it must have been a

<sup>1</sup> C. I. 1452. Statue, Fig. 15, Cat. 5591.      <sup>2</sup> C. I. 1450.

<sup>3</sup> See Introduction.

The name of *L. Mammius Maximus* also occurs as offering statues to members of the imperial family. See C. I. 1413-5-7-8.

splendid building. This building is referred to in a second inscription,<sup>1</sup> in which the form of the letters bears witness to antiquity. It was found on the site of the ancient seashore, and reads :

M . SPVRIVS . M . F .

MEN . RVFVS . II . VIR

I . D . MACELLVM . D .

S . P . F . C . EID . PRO

From another inscription<sup>2</sup> we are able to identify with certainty a temple discovered at Bisogno, near the Basilica, in 1757. It runs :

IMP CAESAR . VESPASIANUS . AVG . PONTIF .

MAX . TRIB . POT . VII . IMP . XVII . P . P . COS . VII .

DESIGN . VIII . TEMPLVM . MATRIS . DEVM .

TERRAE . MOTV . CONLAPSVM . RESTITVIT .

“The Emperor Cæsar Vespasian, priest of Augustus, pontifex maximus, entrusted seven times with tribunician power, seventeen times commander-in-chief, seven times proconsul, eight times consul designate, restored the Temple of the Mother of the Gods, thrown down by the earthquake.”

Very interesting is the inscription<sup>3</sup> on a marble

<sup>1</sup> C. I. 1457.

<sup>2</sup> C. I. 1406.

<sup>3</sup> C. I. 1453 and *cf.* C. I. 1455-6.

tablet, dug up from “an ancient and very beautiful building.” From this we learn how the city decrees a vote of thanks and some more substantial privileges to Marcus Remmius Rufus, father and son, for their public spirit in providing the municipality with *pondera*, *chalcidicum* and *schola*.

It is interesting to note that the city is here called a *municipium*.

The *chalcidicum* was a covered portico attached to any building, the *pondera* was evidently a set of weights kept in a sort of table (*mensa ponderaria*)<sup>1</sup> such as we see from Pompeii in the Museum of Naples. The *schola* appears to be a semicircular bench which may be seen at Pompeii in many places. No traces have been found of any of these gifts.

**The imperial family.**—Of the many inscriptions on statues raised to the imperial family which once adorned the cavea and stage of the Theatre, we have several. One is on a marble statue<sup>2</sup> presented by this same Mammius in honour of *Antonia, Mother of Tiberius Claudius*

<sup>1</sup> *Giornale degli Scavi di Pompei*, Nuova Serie, 1870, No. 14. Naples, 1868–78.

<sup>2</sup> The feet only remain.

*Germanicus*, and discovered in November 1739, in the Theatre.<sup>1</sup>

Of *Germanicus* himself we have the colossal bronze statue found in December 1741, identified by its inscription.<sup>2</sup>

Another royal statue raised by the "decree of the decurions" (D.D.), but now lost, once stood in the Theatre.

Its inscription<sup>3</sup> runs :

DOMITIAE . CN . F .

DOMITIANI . CAESARIS

D . D .

and other pedestals bear inscriptions to *Flavia Domitilla*,<sup>4</sup> to *Julia Agrippina*,<sup>5</sup> daughter of *Germanicus*, and to *Vespasian*.<sup>6</sup>

Several inscriptions to the *Divine Julius*<sup>7</sup> and the *Divine Augustus* and the mention of the newly instituted priests of the Emperors, the *Augustales*<sup>8</sup> and the *Flamens of Augustus*,<sup>9</sup> bear witness to a cult of the Emperors at Herculaneum as elsewhere in the Empire.

<sup>1</sup> C. I. 1417.

<sup>2</sup> C. I. 1416.

<sup>3</sup> C. I. 1422, Cat. 3724.

<sup>4</sup> C. I. 1419.

<sup>5</sup> C. I. 1418.

<sup>6</sup> C. I. 1420, Cat. 3723.

<sup>7</sup> C. I. 1420-1-2-3-5. See Boissier, *Promenades Archéologiques*.

<sup>8</sup> C. I. 1411-2, 1448.

<sup>9</sup> C. I. 1415.



An inscription<sup>1</sup> in honour of *Tiberius Claudius, son of Germanicus*, found under an arch on the wall of the Theatre by La Vega in October 1768, may be mentioned here, as it is wrongly put among the Pompeian inscriptions in the *Corpus*.

Of purely personal interest is the following on a bronze statue<sup>2</sup> found in the Theatre in 1743 (December), identified by the inscription as the portrait of Marcus Calatorius :

M. CALATORIO . M .  
QUARTIONI  
MUNICIPES . ET . INCOLAE  
AERE . CONLATO .

Some of these inscriptions, with their records of *decuriones, incolae, municipes* and *quartiones*, might be of use, with fresh material, for settling the vexed question as to the particular form of local government in Herculaneum.

The family of Balbus.—Especially interesting is a whole series of statues and inscriptions relating to another distinguished citizen and benefactor, *Marcus Nonius Balbus*, and his family, from which we can construct a fairly complete biography.

<sup>1</sup> C. I. 932, Cat. 3721.

<sup>2</sup> Cat. 5597, C. I. 1403, and *cf.* 1470.



First, we have the noble equestrian statue,<sup>1</sup> that once adorned the portico of the Basilica, identified as a portrait by the inscription<sup>2</sup> on the pedestal :

M . NONIO . M . F . BALBO .

PR . PRO . COS .

HERCULANENSES .

“The men of Herculaneum (raised this statue) to Marcus Nonius Balbus, son of Marcus, prætor and proconsul.”

A similar inscription may be seen over the left-hand door of the orchestra entrance of the Theatre, found in 1768.

We have the companion statue<sup>3</sup> of his father which once stood on the right-hand side of the stage, where the inscription<sup>4</sup> may still be seen.

We have in addition two fine marble statues<sup>5</sup> of father and son, standing robed in the consular toga, both found in the Theatre in 1739. The son's statue bore the inscription<sup>6</sup> :

M . NONIO . M . F . BALBO

PR . PRO . COS .

D . D .

<sup>1</sup> See chap. on Basilica. Cat. 6167.

<sup>2</sup> C. I. 1426, Cat. 3708.

<sup>3</sup> Cat. 5174.

<sup>4</sup> C. I. 1428.

<sup>5</sup> Cat. 6167, 6246.

<sup>6</sup> C. I. 1428.

“Raised to Marcus Nonius Balbus, son of Marcus, prætor and proconsul, by the decree of the decuriones.”

And a similar inscription to the father reads :<sup>1</sup>

M . NONIO . M . F . BALBO

PATRI

D . D .

From these, and from other inscriptions found in Herculaneum we know the name of the father and grandfather of the young Marcus Nonius Balbus, who seems to have been the most distinguished of the three.

His mother was Vicira, daughter of Archias, as we read<sup>2</sup> on the base of a statue of a woman, draped and with veiled head, found in 1739 in the Theatre, and from another inscribed<sup>3</sup> statue<sup>4</sup> found at the same time we learn the name of his wife Volasenna. We know further that he came from Nocera, where his fellow citizens honoured him with a statue, and that he was prætor,<sup>5</sup> and likewise proconsul of Crete and Cyrene.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C. I. 1439.

<sup>3</sup> C. I. 1435-6-7.

<sup>5</sup> C. I. 1430-4.

<sup>2</sup> C. I. 1440.

<sup>4</sup> Cat. 6168.

<sup>6</sup> C. I. 1429.

Of one of his special benefactions we read in an inscription<sup>1</sup> found at Bisogno, in 1758 :

M . NONIUS . M . F . BALBUS . PROCOS  
BASILICAM . PORTAS . MURUM .  
PECUNIA . SUA .

From which we learn that he built, at his own expense, a basilica, gates and wall.

Apart from the personal interest, this is an important inscription as testifying that a basilica<sup>2</sup> did at least exist, whether or not the building so called is the basilica.

It also confirms the well-known statement that "Balbus" did in reality "build a wall."

In another inscription<sup>3</sup> we find him making the gift of a burial-place to a certain Eutychus, probably one of his freedmen ; and from a fragment<sup>4</sup> found near the great Bronze Horse in the theatre, in 1739, we gather that he, or his father, raised a statue to the Emperor Vespasian, no doubt as a tribute to the Emperor's generosity in restoring the Temple of Cybele.

<sup>1</sup> C. I. 1425.

<sup>2</sup> See chap. vi. on the Basilica.

<sup>3</sup> C. I. 1471-2 and 1468. Cat. 3756-7-8.

<sup>4</sup> C. I. 1420. Cat. 3723, and *cf.* C. I. 1421.

We can even follow him to the Columbarium<sup>1</sup> beyond the city, where over three out of the seven cinerary urns<sup>2</sup> (all of which, after sixteen centuries, were found standing in their niches, with the earthenware lids still on), we read, in rude, red letters, that here was the last resting-place of Nonius Balbus and his people.

<sup>1</sup> See chap. x.

<sup>2</sup> C. I. 1473-5.



# APPENDICES

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### OF THE MOST IMPORTANT WORKS ON HERCULANEUM

#### I. CONTEMPORARY AUTHORITIES :

- (A) For the whole period.
- (B) For special periods.

#### II. LATER AUTHORITIES :

- (A) Bibliography of Herculaneum.
- (B) General works.
- (C) The eruption.
- (D) Sculptures and frescoes.
- (E) Inscriptions.
- (F) Periodical publications.

#### III. THE PAPYRI.

#### IV. THE PLANS.





## I. CONTEMPORARY AUTHORITIES

### (A) COVERING THE WHOLE PERIOD

1. MICHELE RUGGIERO,<sup>1</sup> *Storia degli Scavi di Ercolano ricomposta sui documenti superstiti*, Naples, 1885.

(Most of the original journals, sketches and plans, are published in this book, together with a brief introduction.)

2. The Reports of the *Reale Accademia Ercolanese*<sup>2</sup> containing reproductions of the bronzes and frescoes found : published by BAYARDI in *Le Antichità di Ercolano esposte*, in 8 volumes, 1757-92.

3. BAYARDI, *Catalogo degli Antichi Monumenti dissotterrati dalla città di Ercolano*, 1 vol., Naples, 1755.

This is the foundation for all other catalogues. It is arranged without classification, and there are few indications of place or date.

4. BAYARDI, *Prodromo delle Antichità di Ercolano*, 5 vols., Naples, 1752.

5. J. WINCKELMANN, *Nachrichten von den neuesten Herculanischen Entdeckungen*, Dresden, 1764.

<sup>1</sup> Sometime Director of the Excavations and Monuments of the Kingdom.

<sup>2</sup> Founded in 1756, see Castaldi, *Delle Reale Accademia Ercolanese dalla sua fondazione*, Naples, 1840.

6. J. WINCKELMANN, *Sendschreiben von den Herculanischen Entdeckungen*, Dresden, 1792 (a late edition).

(There is an English translation entitled *Critical Account of the Situation and Destruction . . . of Herculaneum . . .*, London, 1771.)

7. *Recueil de Lettres* DE M. WINCKELMANN, *sur les Découvertes faites à Herculaneum . . .* Paris, 1784.

(Being a translation of the two books above.)

8. *Napoli e i luoghi celebre delle sue vicinanze*, 2 vols., Naples, 1845.

(In vol. 2 there is a useful chapter on Herculaneum, and on the Museum.)

9. *A Letter from a Gentleman at Naples* concerning the late discovery of Herculaneum, London, 1757.

10. SEIGNEUX DE CORREVON, *Lettres sur la Découverte de l'ancienne ville d'Herculane*, Yverdon, 1770.

11. FOUGEROUX DE BONDAROV, *Recherches sur les ruines d'Herculaneum*, Paris, 1770.

12. In the *Museo Nazionale* are some hundred unpublished plates, containing reproductions of the marbles among other things. Nothing is published here that did not come from the Museum at Portici.

13. Three volumes of *Records* for 1753-1804.<sup>1</sup>

14. FIORELLI, *Pompeianarum Antiquitatum Historia* [for 1748-1870], Naples, 1860-72.

15. ROSINI, *Dissertationis Isagogicae ad Herculaneusium voluminum explanationem pars prima*, Naples, 1797.

(Published by the Academy. Referred to as *Diss. Isag.*)

<sup>1</sup> In the *Biblioteca Municipale* at Naples. The records for 1754 are missing.

## (B) FOR SPECIAL PERIODS

1738-1741

1. The reports of ALCUBIERRE made for Charles III. These are inadequate and confused.

1741-1749<sup>1</sup>

2. We have only a few notices by Members of the Academy for 1744, and by BARDET for 1745.

3. FIORELLI made several copies of reports<sup>2</sup> including those for the years 1748 and 1749, for which we have no original documents.

4. MARCELLO DE VENUTI, *Descrizione delle prime Scoperte dell'antica città di Ercolano*, Rome, 1748.

5. A. F. GORI, *Admiranda antiquitatum Herculaneusium*, in vol. i. of *Symbolae Litterariae*, in 10 vols., Florence, 1748.

6. *Symbolae Litterariae*, second decade, in 10 vols., Rome 1751, contains : (1) A series of five letters on Herculaneum by CARDINAL QUIRINUS and JACOBUS BELGRADIUS, S. J., in vol. i. ; (2) *Antiquitates Herculaneenses Litterariae* by WALCH, in vol. i. ; (3) *Notizie intorno alla città sotterranea Ercolano*, by A. F. GORI, 1748, in vol. ii., being a translation from the book [No. 7] following.

7. D'ARTHENAY, *Mémoire sur la Ville Souterraine*, Paris, 1748 (February).

(A brief and excellent little account.)

<sup>1</sup> Venuti, who left Naples in 1740, says the work was suspended during this period owing to the war between Charles III. and Austria. This is only partially true.

<sup>2</sup> The originals are in the *Direzione del Museo*.

8. *Notizie del memorabile scoprimento dell' antica città Ercolano*, Florence, 1748.

(Letters by various authors dated 1738-48.)

9. *Raccolta di quanto è stato pubblicato nelle novelle letterarie di Firenze sopra le antichità di Ercolano*, dall'anno 1748 fino al 1750, Rome, 1751, contains letters by LAMI, 1748-9.

10. COCHIN ET BELLICARD, *Observations sur les Antiquités d'Herculanum*, Paris, 1754.

(The English translation, with additional plates, is wrongly dated 1753.)

1750-1764

11. WEBER's *Reports* made for Alcubierre, which cover nearly the entire period, and some remnants of a *Private Register*<sup>1</sup> covering a small portion of the period.

12. ALCUBIERRE's *Reports* for a portion of this period.<sup>1</sup>

13. PADERNI's Reports entitled : *Nota di Metalli ed altre cose antiche che si trovano ne' Reali Scavamenti dal 1756 fino al 1780*.

14. Preceding this was another volume. We have a copy of a very small portion of this for October 1752 to August 1753, made at the request of Bayardi. It is entitled *Prima nota consegnata a S. Maestà*.

15. PADERNI was in frequent correspondence with English travellers. This correspondence is found in *Philosophical Transactions*, London, vol. 48, 49, 50, i.e. for the years 1752-1753.

<sup>1</sup> In the *Archivio della Direzione degli Scavi di Pompei e Ercolano*. A small portion of the register was copied for Charles III. of Spain and finely bound. It is now in the possession of the *Società Storica Napoletana*. Some of the *Reports* of Weber and Corcoles are in the *Biblioteca Municipale* at Naples.

16. *Reports* of GIUSEPPE CORCOLES<sup>1</sup> (covering a short period only).

17. Two *Catalogues*<sup>1</sup> of LA VEGA of the bronzes and sculptures found 1750–1765.

(Incomplete and copied from Weber.)

1764–1780

18. *Reports* of CORCOLES, of PADERNI, of ALCUBIERRE, of CANART, and of LA VEGA.

1828–1884

19. The *Reports* of CARLO BONUCCI (1861–71), of FIORELLI (1871–1884), and a few others.

20. *Giornale degli Scavi di Pompei, pubblicato da Giuseppe Fiorelli*, 1861–65.

(It contains a reprint, in vol. 8, of some unedited manuscripts by La Vega, in the *Archivio del Museo Nazionale*. Much of this publication was suppressed by the Government.)

<sup>1</sup> In the *Archivio della Direzione*.



## II. LATER AUTHORITIES

### (A) BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. FURCHEIM, *Bibliografia di Pompei, Ercolano e Stabiae*, Naples, 1891.

(Contains nearly every work on the subject, including the most worthless, arranged in alphabetical order.)

2. MAU, *Pompeii in Leben und Kunst*, Leipzig, 1900. (Translated by Kelsey, London, 1904.)

(The bibliography contains some useful information.)

3. *Indice Generale dei Lavori pubblicati dal 1757 al 1902*, published by the R. Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti e R. Accademia Ercolanese, Naples, 1903.

(A complete bibliography of the publications of the society from 1757-1902, arranged under the name of the authors and also of the subjects.)

4. CASTALDI, *Della Reale Accademia Ercolanese*,<sup>1</sup> Naples, 1840.

(An account of the Academy at Naples.)

5. BERNARDO QUARANTA, *De' Lavori della Reale Accademia Ercolanese negli anni 1849 e 1850*, Naples, 1851.

6. ETTORE GABRICI, *Bibliografia Ercolanese in Bollettino d'Arte*, Rome, 1907, Fasc. 7.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So called from 1755-1816. It amalgamated with the R. Accademia di Belle Arti, and has been known as the R. Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti from 1861 to the present day. From 1816-1860 it was known as the *Società Reale Borbonica*.

<sup>2</sup> My own bibliography, as published in the *Classical Review*, February 1908, was completed before this appeared.

## (B) GENERAL WORKS

1. DOMENICO COMPARETTI<sup>1</sup> and GIULIO DE PETRA,<sup>2</sup> *La Villa Ercolanese dei Pisoni, i suoi Monumenti e la sua Biblioteca*, Turin, 1883 (referred to as *Comparetti*).

(An invaluable account of the *Villa of the Papyri*, with plates, catalogues and the original authorities for the period.)

2. A. DE JORIO, *Notizie sugli Scavi di Ercolano*, Naples, 1827.

(A useful account with plates.)

3. PIRANESI, *Teatro di Ercolano*, Paris, 1836.

(Excellent plans, elevations and restorations.)

4. F. MAZOIS,<sup>3</sup> *Les Ruines de Pompeii*, Parts 3 and 4.

(Continued by Gau. Excellent plans and restorations of the Theatre of Herculaneum, Paris, 1824-38.)

5. SIR WILLIAM DRUMMOND and SIR ROBERT WALPOLE, *Herculanensia*, London, 1810.

6. BELOCH, *Campanien*, Berlin, 1879.

(Excellent general account of Herculaneum.)

7. BRETON, *Pompéia décrite . . . suivie d'une Notice sur Herculaneum*, Paris, 1869.

(Useful for the nineteenth-century excavations.)

8. CARLO BONUCCI, *Le due Sicilie: Ercolano . . .*, Naples, 1835.

(Rare. The copy in the British Museum has thirty-nine plates.)

<sup>1</sup> Comparetti is responsible for the Chapters on the Papyri, and on the Owner of the Villa.

<sup>2</sup> Sometime Director of the Museum at Naples.

<sup>3</sup> Sometime Architect and Inspector General of Buildings.

9. AUGUSTE MAU, *Pompeii in Leben und Kunst*, Leipzig, 1900.

(Trans. Kelsey. There is a great deal useful in a general way for Herculaneum.)

10. GASTON BOISSIER, *Promenades Archéologiques*, Essay on Pompeii, Paris, 1887.

(This book gives a useful general idea of the period, its arts and life.)

11. VALENTIN FRÉVILLE, *Herculanum et Pompéia*, Limoges, 185—.

12. GAETANO D'ANCORA, *Prospetto storico-fisico degli Scavi di Ercolano e di Pompei*, Naples, 1803.

13. SAINT-NON, *Voyage pittoresque*, vol. 2, Paris, 1780–1803.

14. M. A. KRAMER, *Nachrichten zur Geschichte der herculanischen Entdeckungen*, Halle, 1773.

### (C) THE ERUPTION

1. FURCHEIM, *Bibliografia del Vesuvio*, Naples, 1897.

2. MICHELE RUGGIERO, *Della eruzione del Vesuvio nell'anno 79*, published in *Pompei e la regione sotterrata dal Vesuvio nell'anno 79*, Naples, 1879.

3. BEULÉ, *Le Drame du Vésuve*, Paris, 1872.

(For the eruption and description of life in Campania.)

### (D) SCULPTURES AND FRESCOES

1. Inventories of the Naples Museum, and Catalogues based on Bayardi's, and compiled in 1820, 1849, 1870, 1906.

2. In FURCHEIM's *Bibliografia* is a complete list of books dealing with the entire collection at Naples Museum.

(Some of these have beautiful engravings, but the letterpress is usually worthless.)

3. Reproductions of works of art found at Herculaneum have been published, with letterpress in various languages, by DAVID (1780), PIROLI and PIRANESI (1804-6), MARTYN and LETTICE (1773), BARRÉ ET ROUX (1872), WILHELM ZAHN (with coloured plates) in *Die schönsten Ornamente und merkwürdigsten Gemälde aus . . . Herkulanum. . .* Berlin, 1827-1859, in the *Real Museo Borbonico*, Naples, 1824-1857, &c.

Those of later date supplement the publication by the *Reale Ac. Ercol.* There are some fine drawings of the frescoes in W. TERNITE, *Wandgemälde von Pompei und Herkulanum*, 1839, with letterpress by Welcker.

4. WINCKELMANN,<sup>1</sup> *Recueil de Lettres sur les découvertes faites à Herkulanum*, Paris, 1784.

5. W. HELBIG, *Untersuchungen über die campanische Wandmalerei*, Leipsic, 1873.

—, *Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens*, Leipsic, 1868.

6. A. MAU, *Geschichte der decorativen Wandmalerei in Pompei*, Berlin, 1882.

7. WICKHOFF, in *Die Wiener Genesis*, Vienna, 1895.

(Useful for frescoes. English translation, known as *Roman Art*, by Mrs. Strong, London, 1900.)

8. FURTWÄNGLER, *Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik*, Leipsic and Berlin, 1893.

(Many of the Herculaneum sculptures are noticed in this book.)

<sup>1</sup> He spent two months in Naples in 1762.

9. COLLIGNON, *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque*, Paris, 1897.

10. RAYET, *Monuments de l'Art Antique*, Paris, 1880.

(There are good reproductions of many of the Herculaneum sculptures, with letterpress by various authors.)

11. BERNOULLI, *Griechische Ikonographie*, Munich, 1901.

(With bibliography. Useful for the identification of the busts.)

12. —, *Römische Ikonographie*, 4 vols., Stuttgart, 1882–1894.

13. VISCONTI, *Iconographie Grecque*, and *Iconographie Romaine*, Paris, 1808–1826.

(Also Braun and Arndt, Brunn, Baumeister, &c.)

### (E) INSCRIPTIONS

*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Volume 10, Part I., pp. 156–170, edited by Mommsen, Berlin, 1883.

(Referred to as C. I.)

### (F) PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS

There are a number of excellent monographs scattered among the publications of the various learned societies. They chiefly deal with the sculpture. The most important publications in which these monographs occur are :

1. *Mittheilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts in Athen*, 1878.

(Referred to as *Mit. Deut. Arch. Inst.*)

2. *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1876, 1880.

(Referred to as *Arch. Zeit.*)



3. *Bullettino della commissione archeologica comunale di Roma*, 1876, 1881.

(Referred to as *Bull. Arch. Com.*.)

4. *Mittheilungen des Kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abtheilung.*

Also called *Bullettino dell' Imperiale Istituto archeologico Germanico, Zezione Romana*, 1888-9, 1891-4-5-8, 1900, 1902, Berlin, Rome, 1886.

(Referred to as *Ist. Arch. Germ.*.)

5. *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, Rome, 1885-1895, 1898, 1900-1-3.

(Referred to as *Jahrbuch.*)

6. *Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Serie terza, memorie della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, 1878, contains *Gli scavi di Ercolano*, by F. BARNABEI.

(Referred to as *Ac. dei Linc.*)

7. *Rendiconto della Accademia Reale di Napoli*, 1901, contains *Studi di topografia storica e di storia antica* (chap. ii., iv.), by A. SOGLIANO.

—, 1905, contains *Relazione intorno gli scavi di Ercolano*, by DE PETRA and others.

8. *Nuova Antologia*, Rome, January 1906, *Ercolano* by Professor DALL' OSSO.

9. *Tribuna di Roma*, Rome, 1907 (Nos. 14, 29, 44, 70), articles on Herculaneum, by Professor DALL' OSSO.

10. *Età Nova*, Naples, March 1908, *La Quadriga ercolanese*, by Professor DALL' OSSO.

(This contains references to the other papers and reviews, the *Giornale d'Italia*, *Tribuna di Roma*, &c., treating of this much-disputed question.)



### III. BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE HERCULANEUM PAPYRI

1. *Relazione sui Papiri Ercolanesi*, by PROF. DOMENICO COMPARETTI, being a paper read in 1878 before the *Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, published in 1883 in *La Villa Ercolanese dei Pisoni*, by D. COMPARETTI and GIULIO DE PETRA, Turin, 1883.

(Followed by a catalogue of all the papyri unpublished at that date.)

2. A complete *Catalogue* with notes as to size, condition, &c., of the 1806 rolls, and fragments found by DR. EMIDIO MARTINI, 1882.

(Printed in *La Villa Ercolanese*.)

3. *Herculanensium Voluminum quae supersunt: Collectio Prior*,<sup>1</sup> 9 vols., Naples 1793-1850.

4. *Herculanensium Voluminum quae supersunt; Collectio Altera* <sup>2</sup> 1862-76, 11 vols., Naples, 1862-76.

5. *Herculanensium Voluminum Pars Prima* and *Pars Secunda*, being a catalogue of the Oxford Papyri, together with a facsimile of seven which appeared subsequently in the *Collectio Prior* and the *Collectio Altera*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1824-5.

<sup>1</sup> Published by the *Reale Accademia Ercolanese*.

<sup>2</sup> Published by the *Reale Accademia Ercolanese*. A *Collectio Tertia* is now in course of preparation, by precisely the same methods, in Naples.

6. *Fragmenta Herculensia*, by WALTER SCOTT, being a descriptive catalogue of the Oxford copies of the rolls, the text of three hitherto unpublished papyri, and an invaluable historical introduction, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1885.

7. *Herculaneum Fragments*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1891.  
(Printed from HAYTER's facsimiles in the Bodleian, and containing 36 plates of engravings of texts and alphabets.)

8. *Herculaneum Fragments*, in 9 volumes, Oxford Philological Society, 1889.

(Being photographs of the Oxford facsimiles unpublished at that date. There are photographs of 82 papyri, and the volumes contain 827 pages.)<sup>1</sup>

9. *The Herculaneum and Pompeian Manuscripts*, a letter by the REV. JOHN HAYTER to H.R.H. the PRINCE OF WALES, 1800.

10. *A Report upon the Herculaneum Manuscripts* in a second letter to H.R.H. the PRINCE OF WALES by the REV. JOHN HAYTER,<sup>2</sup> London 1811.

11. *Herkulanische Studien*: THEODOR GOMPERZ, Leipsic, 1865.

12. *Officina de' Papiri descritta*, by A. DE JORIO, Naples, 1825.

(An excellent general account of the finding of the papyri, their condition, and the method of opening them, illustrated.)

<sup>1</sup> The Oxford facsimiles are much better than the same facsimiles in Naples, as the former were copied much earlier, before the fragile papyri were further injured by exposure to the air.

<sup>2</sup> A complete bibliography concerning Hayter's Mission is given in Scott's book, p. 2, footnote. There are some curious original letters on the subject in the Bodleian.

13. *Tesoro Litterario di Ercolano*, by G. CASTRUCCI, Naples, 1855.

(Good plates.)

14. *Notice sur les manuscrits trouvés à Herculanium*, J. BOOT, Amsterdam, 1841.

(Similar to De JORIO's book.)

15. Letters of CAMILLO PADERNI,<sup>1</sup> Keeper of the Museum at Portici, to various correspondents; translated and published in *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, London, 1753-4.

(Referred to as *Phil. Trans.*)

16. SIR HUMPHRY DAVY, in *Philosophical Transactions*, London, 1821.

17. ANONYMOUS, in the *Edinburgh Review*, 1828, vol. 48, p. 348.

18. Report of the Parliamentary Committee for March 19, 1818.

19. *Die Herkulanensischen Handschriften in England*, by DR. F. C. L. SICKLER, Leipsic, 1819.

20. PHILODEMUS OF GADARA. In addition to his works published in the Naples Edition, we have, in a more convenient form, several of his works in 3 vols. of the *Teubner Texts*, Leipsic, 1884, 1892, 1906, and critical editions of several of his works by MEKLER, GOMPERZ, HARTUNG, VON MURR and others, between the years 1806 and 1891.

21. *Epicuri Fragmenta*, lib. ii. and xi. *De Natura*, by ROSINI, Leipsic, 1818.

<sup>1</sup> This is almost the only contemporary account we have.

22. LORENZO BLANCO, *Epitome dei Volumi Ercolanesi*, Naples, 1842.

23. ———, *Saggio della Semiografia dei Volumi Ercolanesi*, Naples, 1842.

24. ———, *Varietà nei Volumi Ercolanesi*, Naples, 1846.

25. ———, *Risoluzione di taluni quesiti archeologici*, Naples, 1842.

26. C. T. VON MURR, *De papyris seu voluminibus Graecis Herculansibus commentatio*, 1804.

## IV. THE PLANS

THE number of plans made was very numerous. Of the few remaining, all the important ones are reproduced in Ruggiero, *Storia degli Scavi*, and can also be found in very many of the eighteenth-century works quoted already in the Bibliography.

### 1. THE THEATRE.

Of the Theatre we have records of twenty plans and drawings, of which most have been lost.<sup>1</sup>

Two only of these have been engraved on copperplate. The most interesting is Weber's plan, dated 1747, first published in the *Bulletino Archeologico Napolitano* by Minervini in May 1861, and reproduced by Ruggiero, *op. cit.*, Tav. iv. This plan gives the original subterranean ways made by the Prince d'Elbœuf in 1713.

A second plan by Weber, dated 1751, gives the reconstruction of the Theatre (Ruggiero, *op. cit.*, Tav. iii.).

A third plan, correcting some of the inaccuracies of Weber's plan, is given by Ruggiero himself from measurements on the spot. (Ruggiero, *op. cit.*, Tav. v. vi.).

### 2. THE HOUSE OF THE PAPYRI.

For the House of the Papyri we have the original plans

<sup>1</sup> By Alcubierre, dated July 1739 and August 1741, Bardet, 1742, Weber, 11 plans, La Vega, 7 plans. Mazois, *Les Ruines de Pompéi, Troisième partie*, Paris, 1829 and de Jorio, *Notizie sugli Scavi di Ercolano*, Naples, 1827, bear witness to the accuracy of La Vega's plans. Bardet speaks of 404 plans made during his year of office.

which were at first kept in the *Grande Archivio di Stato*. Of these the chief is Carlo Weber's plan. On this are marked the tunnels made in the excavation, the more important pillars to support the superincumbent mass, the precise position of the statues excavated, and an indication of the nature of the floors, whether mosaic or marble.

The plan was begun in July 1750: in 1758 it was abandoned, but the position of the statues is only marked up to the year 1754, about half the total number of statues being marked in Weber's plan. Weber accompanied his plan with explanatory notes. It is reproduced in Ruggiero, *op. cit.*, Tav. ix.

The plan<sup>1</sup> is reproduced in the monograph by Comparetti and De Petra. The latter has indicated, by numerals in red, the position of the remaining statues from other rough plans and documentary evidence.

### 3. THE BASILICA, TEMPLES, AND COLUMBARIUM.

For the Basilica and Columbarium we have the drawings of Cochin and Bellicard, reproduced in Ruggiero, *op. cit.*, Tav. viii. Cochin also gives a plan of the two Temples opposite the Basilica. Ruggiero, in his reproduction, reverses the position of the two.

### 4. THE HOUSES.

For the houses at Resina, we have the plans of Bonucci, reproduced with additions in Ruggiero, *op. cit.*, Tav. xii.

### 5. GENERAL PLANS.

For the general plan of the city we have La Vega's plan, reproduced in Ruggiero, *op. cit.*, Tav. ii., and reproduced with additions<sup>1</sup> by Dall' Osso in the *Tribuna*. This is not

<sup>1</sup> Reproduced in this book by kind permission.



the work of a single man, but the sum of the work of past engineers.

A useful general plan of the modern district was made under the direction of La Vega, reproduced in Ruggiero, *op. cit.*, Tav. i.

Weber gives a plan, reproduced in Ruggiero, *op. cit.*, p. 252, of the Temple of the Mother of the Gods.

## CATALOGUES

- A. THE BRONZES AND MARBLES IN THE HOUSE  
OF THE PAPYRI
- B. THE BRONZES AND MARBLES IN THE BASI-  
LICA AND THEATRE
- C. THE FRESCOES



# A. CATALOGUE OF THE BRONZES AND MARBLES<sup>1</sup> IN THE HOUSE OF THE PAPHI

With the date when found, the exact position they occupied, indicated by the numbers on plan 7, and the figure where each is reproduced, either in this book or in the monograph by Comparetti and De Petra.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Where not otherwise stated the sculptures are in bronze.

<sup>2</sup> Indicated by letter C.

Position	Catalogue number in Naples Museum	Sculpture	Figure	Number in plan	Date and exact place of discovery
In atrium	5006-07-11-12-15-31-33	11 Statuettes of sileni	59, 60	20	1754 Round the impluvium
	5020-28-29-30	fauns, putti	C. xvi.	"	1754 "
	5602	" Democritus "	C. ix. 1	x.	1754 On south side at entrance to peristyle
	5588	Bust with a chlamys	47	ix.	1754 "

Position	Catalogue number in Naples Museum	Sculpture	Figure	Number in plan	Date and exact place of discovery
In atrium	5600	"Ptolemy Lathyrus"	42	22	1754 On south side at entrance to peristyle
	5292	Dancing Faun (statuette)	C. xvi. 6	23	1754 "
	5296	(?) Marsyas	C. xvi. 10	23	1754 "
In peristyle	5596	Ptolemy Alexander (Alexander the Great)	33	27	1755 Middle or right-hand wall
	5598	(?) Berenice	40	28	1759 South side
	4885	Head of the Doriphorus	23	30	1753 Angles of peristyle
	4889	Head of an Amazon	21	32	1753 "
	5607	"Archytas"	C. viii. 2	33	1753 "
In tablinum	5623	"Heraclitus"	41	viii.	1753 "
	6250	Veiled Woman (also called "Modesty" — marble)	C. xix. 3	d	1752 North wall

6007	Archaistic Pallas (marble) Head with headress	16'	h	1752 Between columns on east side of peristyle	
				1752 In centre of room	
5587		51	36		
5474	Agrippina	C. xii. 3	36	1752	"
5586	" Sulla "	C. xi. 4	36	1752	"
5634	Scipio Africanus	48	35	1752	"
5614	Head of a Youth	26	35	1754	"
5633	Apollo	Frontis- piece	35	1752	"
5469	Demosthenes	C. xii. 1	35	1753	"
not in Museum	Epicurus	C. xii. 5	iv. 1	1752 East of second peristyle	
5471	Metrodorus	C. xii. 2	xvi.	1753 Room where a few papyri were found in 1753	
5618	Dionysus or Plato (? Poseidon)	22	45	1759	"
6164	Ideal Head (marble)	24	44	1759	"

East of  
second  
peristyle  
Rooms  
south of  
tablinum



Position	Catalogue number in Naples Museum	Sculpture	Figure	Number in plan	Date and exact place of discovery
Rooms north of tablinum	5467	Demosthenes <sup>1</sup>	C. xii. 4	room 8	1753 North of tablinum
	5465	Epicurus <sup>1</sup>	C. xii. 7	"	1753 "
	5466	Hermarchus <sup>1</sup>	C. xii. 8	"	1753 "
	5468	Zeno <sup>1</sup>	C. xii. 9	"	1753 "
In garden	6018	Æschines (marble statue)	C. xviii. 2	47	1753 In east portico
	6126	Homer (marble statue)	32	12	1756 "
	6210	Orator (marble statue)	C. xviii. 3	11	1756 "
	5608	Archaic Apollo	17	49	1756 Between east portico and pond
	5592	" Berenice "	45	50	1756 "
	4886	Gazelle	61	51	1756 "
	4888	"	C. xvii. 2	52	1756 "

<sup>1</sup> All these heads are small.

4893	Boar	C. xvii. 3	53	1756	"
5594	" Ptolemy Philadelphus "	34	54	1759	"
5624	Sleeping Faun	30	56	1756	In east curve of pond
5625	Mercury in Repose	27	75	1758	Near west curve of pond
5628	Drunken Faun	31	B	1754	"
5626-7	Two Wrestlers	28, 29	A, 74	1754	"
5603	Praying Child	19	80	1754	"
5590	" Ptolemy Soter I." ( <i>? Seleucus Nicator I.</i> )	35	81	1755	"
4896	" Sappho "	44	79	1758	"
5619	Dancer or Actress	18	xviii.	1745	Along south portico on right-hand side
5620	" "	18	xix.	1745	"
5621	" "	18	xx.	1754	"
5605	" "	19	xxi.	1745	"

Position	Catalogue number in Naples Museum	Sculpture	Figure	Number in plan	Date and exact place of discovery
In garden	5604	Dancer or Actress	19	66	1756 South side between portico and pond
	6155	Philosopher (? Socrates : marble)	C. xxii. 1	6	1756 "
	5610	Ideal Head	25	7	1759 "
	6152	Zeno (marble)	C. xxii. 4	58	1757 "
	6149	Alexander (marble)	C. xx. 3	5	1759 (?)
	6151	Warrior in a helmet (marble)	46	69	1756 "
	6158	" Ptolemy Soter II." (marble)	43	68	1757 "
	27709	Pan and Goat (marble)		4	1752 "
	6414	Anacreon (marble)	C. xxii. 5	59	1757 "
	5616	Pseudo-Seneca (? Philetas of Cos)	39	70	1754 "
	6150	Head with wreathed helmet (? Pyrrhus of Epirus : marble)	36	86	1757 North side

			20	85	1757 North side
6322	Athene Gorgolopha (marble)				
6188	Head of a Vestal (woman unknown : marble)		49	84	1757 "
6148	Attilius Regulus, (? Philetairus of Pergamum : marble)		38	89	1757 "
6156	"Archimedes" (? Archidamus III. : marble)		37	88	1757 "
6147	"Lysias" (marble)		C. xxi. 1	87	1757 "
6154	"Hannibal" or "Juba" (marble)		50	83	1757 "
6153	Demosthenes		C. xxii. 2	82	1757 "
5023	Putto (statuette)		59 and C. xvi. 2 and 3	d	1751 At south-west corner
5027	" "		"	d	1751 "
5021	" "		"	d	1751 "
5032	" "		"	d	1751 "
6105	Statue of a Boy (marble)		C. xix. 2	f	1751 "
5470	Epicurus		C xii. 6	v (?)	1753
	In exca- vations west of garden				
	Doubtful position				

## BUSTS

### FROM THE VILLA OF THE PAPHRI GIVEN IN THE CONTEMPORARY AUTHORITIES

#### LIST A.

##### *Large Bronze Busts.*

1. Archaic Apollo.
2. Ideal Head.
3. Ephebus or Claudius Marcellus
4. Doriphorus.
5. Amazon.
6. Epicurus.
7. Hermarchus.
8. Zeno.
9. Ptolemy Soter I.
10. Ptolemy Philadelphus.
11. Berenice.
12. Sappho.
13. Scipio.
14. Pseudo-Seneca.
15. Berenice.
16. Dionysius or Plato.

## LIST B.

*Small Bronze Busts.*

1. Epicurus.
2. Metrodorus.
3. Demosthenes (with inscription).
4. Archytas.
5. Heraclitus.
6. Ptolemy Lathyrus.
7. Democritus.
8. Ptolemy Alexander.

## LIST C.

1. Demosthenes (no inscription).
2. Epicurus.
3. Æmilius Lepidus.
4. Bust with the chlamys buckled on the shoulder.
5. Agrippina.
6. Emperor Gaius, or Tiberius, or Augustus.
7. Ideal Head.
8. Head with covering.
9. Sulla.





B.

CATALOGUE OF STATUES AND BUSTS,  
IN BRONZE AND MARBLE, IN THE  
THEATRE AND BASILICA,

With Catalogue numbers in the Naples Museum,  
date of discovery, and reference to reproductions in the figures in this book or in BAYARDI,<sup>1</sup>  
*Le Antichità di Ercolano esposte*, or BARRÉ,<sup>2</sup>  
*Recueil Général des Bronzes*.

<sup>1</sup> Referred to as By.

<sup>2</sup> „ B.



# 1. LARGE BRONZES FROM THE THEATRE

Catalogue number in the Museum.	Sculpture.	Figure.	Date.
4904	Bronze Horse <sup>1</sup>	9	1739
5595	Augustus (half-draped, holding a thunderbolt)	By. vi. p. 301	1741
5615	Claudius Nero Drusus <sup>2</sup> (as priest, sacrificing)	11	1741
5609	Antonia, wife of Drusus <sup>2</sup>	By. vi. p. 313	1750
5593	Tiberius Claudius Drusus	„ 309	1741
5599	Antonia (?)	„ 317	1741
5597	Marcus Calatorius <sup>2</sup>	„ 335	1743
5591	Lucius Mammius Maximus	15	1743
5612	Unknown Veiled Woman	By. vi. p. 325	174
5589	Unknown Woman	„ 329	1745(?)
5583	Veiled Woman	B. vi pl. 67	1741
115390-1	Bronze-gilt Horses' heads		

<sup>1</sup> The first six bronzes are larger than life.

<sup>2</sup> With inscription. See chap. xvi.

## 2. LARGE MARBLES FROM THE THEATRE

Catalogue number in the Museum.	Sculpture.	Figure.
6211	Equestrian statue of Marcus Nonius Balbus the elder <sup>1</sup>	12
6104	Equestrian statue of Marcus Nonius Balbus the younger <sup>1</sup>	B. vi. pl. 57
6167	Consular statue of Marcus Nonius Balbus the elder <sup>1</sup>	13
6246	Consular statue of Marcus Nonius Balbus the younger <sup>1</sup>	
6168	Vicira, Mother of Balbus <sup>1</sup>	14
6240	Woman of the House of Balbus	B. vi. pl. 69
6242	„ „ „	„ 70
6249	„ „ „	„ 78
6250	„ „ „	„ 68
[500]	[ „ (in Dresden Museum)]	
[501]	[ „ „ „ ]	
[502]	[ „ „ „ ]	
5965	Consular statue	
5966	„ „	

<sup>1</sup> With inscription, *cf.* chap. xvi.

Catalogue number in the Museum.	Sculpture.	Figure.
5969	Consular statue	
5970	„ „	
5983	„ „	
5984	„ „	
5987	„ „	
5988	„ „	

## 3. LARGE MARBLES FROM THE BASILICA

Catalogue number in the Museum.	Sculpture.	Figure.
6056	Headless figure in a curule chair (? Claudius)	10
6040	Ditto (? Augustus)	B. vi. pl. 30

[There are, in addition, many marbles in the Museum attributed to Herculaneum some of which are known to belong elsewhere ; the remainder cannot be identified from contemporary reports.]





## C. THE FRESCOES



# 1. FRESCOES FROM THE BASILICA AND PRIVATE HOUSES

Catalogue number in the Museum.	Fresco.	Figure.
9049	Theseus victorious over the Minotaur	52
9008	Telephus suckled by the hind	53
9109	Chiron teaching Achilles the lyre	54
—	Perseus slaying Medusa	55
9027	“ Appius Claudius ” or “ Admetus and Alcestis ”	By. i. p. 61
9562	Two women playing at knucklebones (small monochrome on marble)	„ 5
9560	Deianeira, Hercules and Centaur (small monochrome on marble)	„ 9
9561	Group with a wooden horse (small monochrome on marble)	„ 15
9563	Women with masks (small monochrome on marble)	„ 19
9564	A Charioteer (small monochrome on marble)	56
9239	Women and shepherd	By. ii. p. 65
9246	Diana and Endymion	By. iii. p. 17
9021	A Concert	By. iv. p. 201

[There are no more large frescoes. Ruggiero, *op. cit.*, gives a list of 250 small frescoes forming *parts* of the wall decorations. There are even more than this. They are all reproduced in Bayardi (and elsewhere), but here, as in the Museum, they are confused with frescoes from Pompeii, as is the case with the sculptures and small bronzes.]

## INDEX

*The accepted names of all sculptures and frescoes are in italics, and, where not otherwise stated, the works are sculptures.*

*Italicised words in brackets denote sculptures which do not come from *Herculaneum*.*

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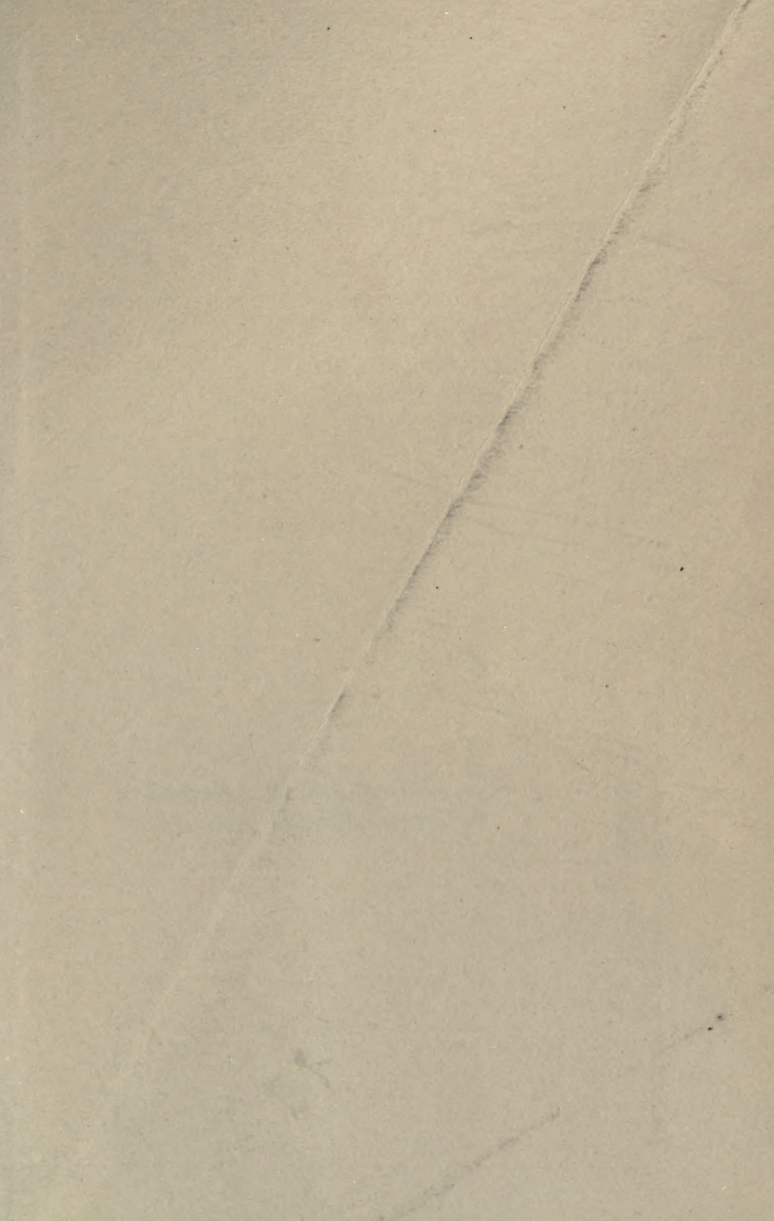
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